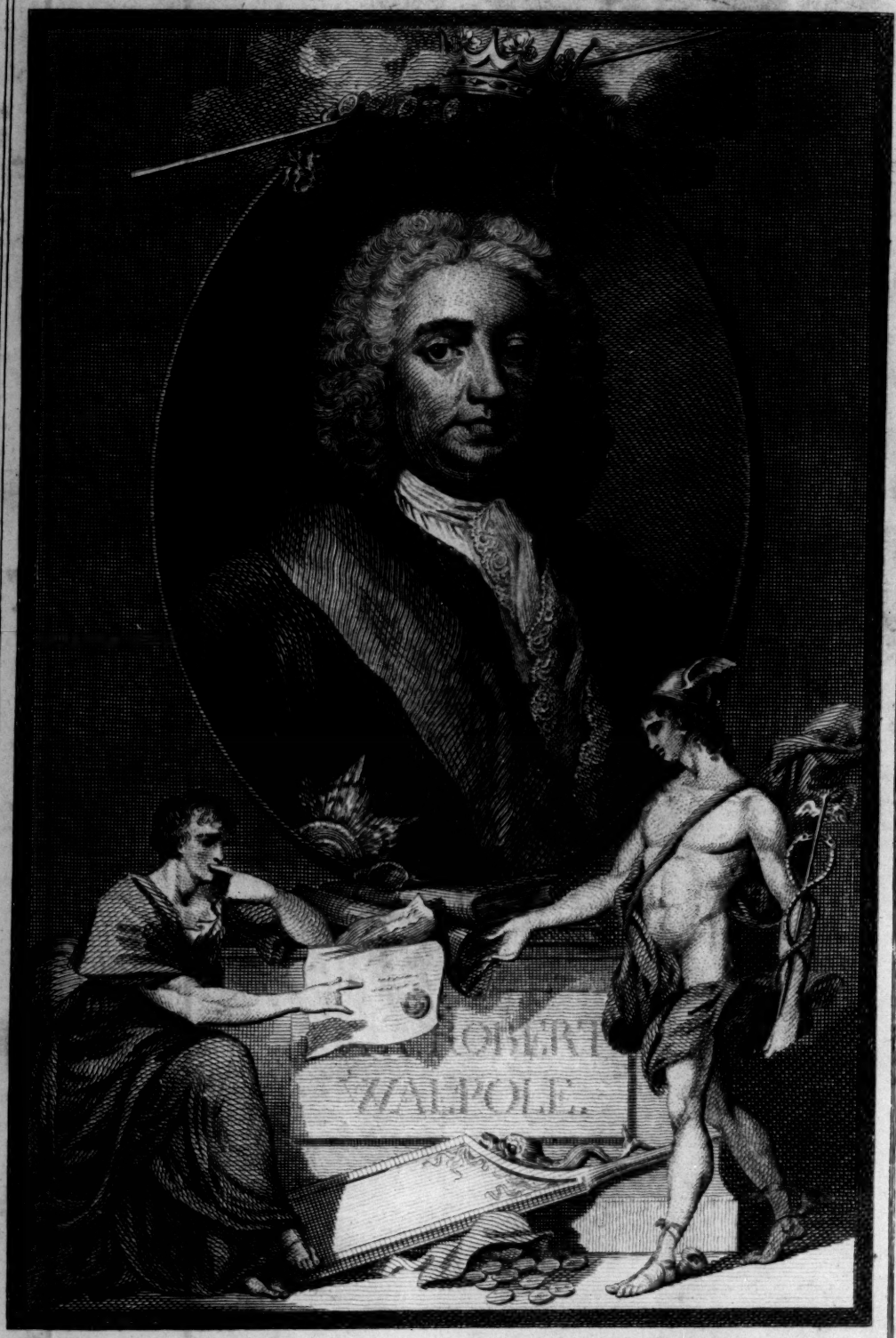
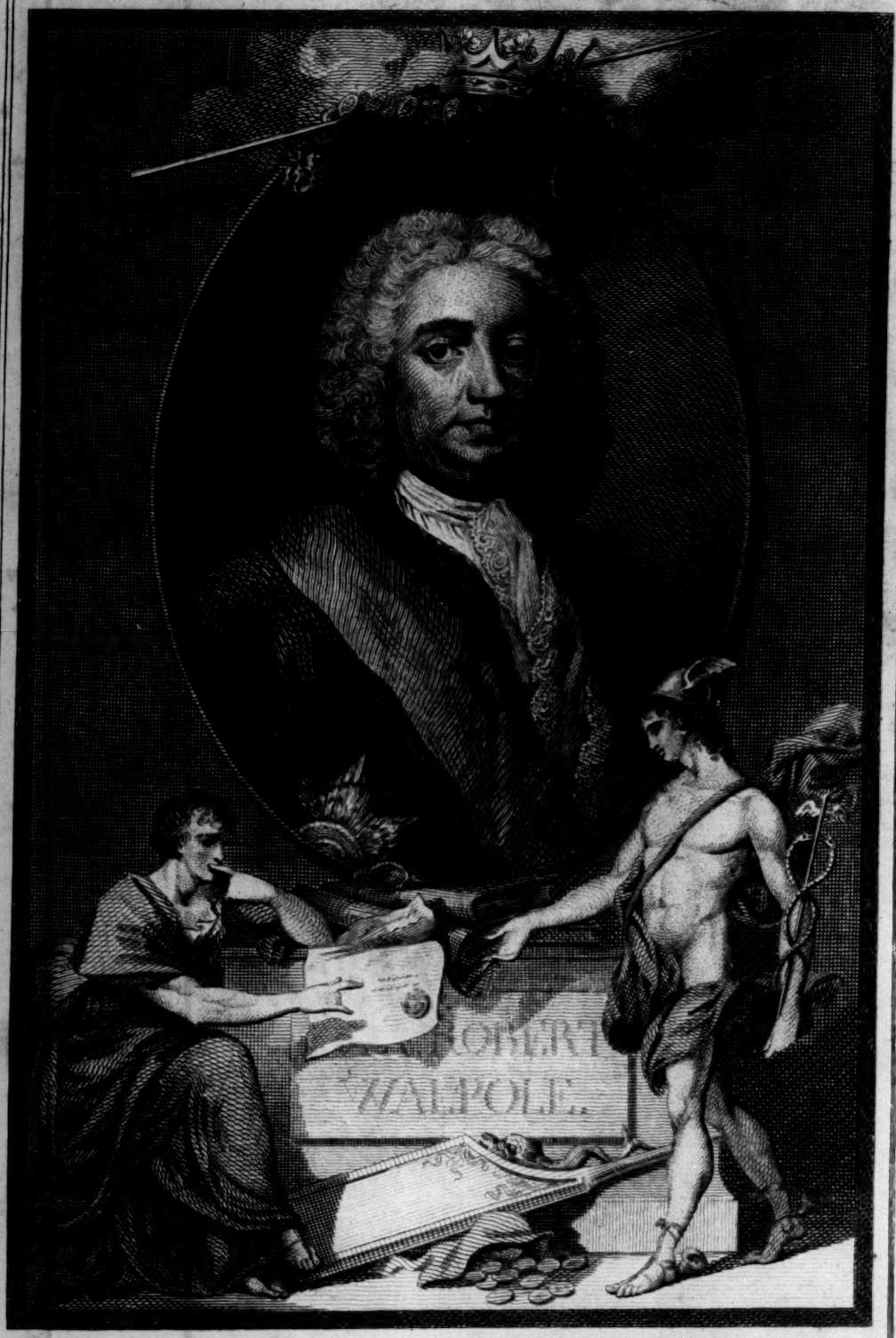


Fratter Sculp.

Publish'd as the act directs June 24th 1790, by T. Cadell and R. Baldwin.



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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(*Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.*)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

By. T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOL. II.

A NEW EDITION,

With the Author's last CORRECTIONS and IMPROVEMENTS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND; AND R. BALDWIN, NO. 47, IN PATER-NOSTER ROW.

M DCC XCIII.

The Grenville Library

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

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§ I.

CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ I. WHEN the Parliament met in October, the Queen in her ſpeech took notice of the declaration by the Duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumſtances advantageous to the alliance. She told them, that although no proviſion was made for the expedition to Liſbon, and the augmentation of the land-forces, the funds had anſwered ſo well, and the produce of prizes been ſo conſiderable, that the publick had not run in debt by thoſe additional ſervices: that ſhe had contributed out of her own revenue to the ſupport of the circle of Suabia, whoſe firm adherence to the intereſt of the allies deſerved her ſeaſonable aſſiſtance. She ſaid, ſhe would not engage in any unneceſſary expence of her own, that ſhe might have the more to ſpare towards the eaſe of her ſubjects. She recommended diſpatch and union, and earneſtly exhorted them to avoid any heats or diviſions that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the Church and State. Notwithſtanding this admonition, and the addreſſes of both Houſes, in which they promiſed to avoid all diviſions, a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons for renewing the bill againſt occaſional conformity, and carried by a great majority. In the new draft, however, the penalties were lowered, and the ſevereſt clauſes mitigated. As the court no longer intereſted itſelf in the ſucceſs of this meaſure, the Houſe was pretty equally divided with reſpect to the ſpeakers, and the debates on each ſide were maintained with equal ſpirit and ability: at length it paſſed, and was ſent up to the Lords, who handled it ſtill more ſeverely. It was oppoſed by a ſmall majority of the biſhops, and particularly by Burnet of Sarum, who declaimed againſt it, as a ſcheme of the Papiſts to ſet the Church and Proteſtants at variance. It was ſucceſſively attacked by the Duke of Devonſhire, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lords Haverſham, Mohun, Ferrars, and Wharton. Prince

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George of Denmark abſented himſelf from the Houſe; and the queſtion being put for a ſecond reading, it was carried in the negative; yet the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin entered their diſſent againſt its being rejected, though the former had poſitively declared, that he thought the bill unſeaſonable. The Commons having peruſed a copy of the treaty with Portugal, voted forty thouſand men, including five thouſand marines, for he ſea ſervice of the enſuing year; and a like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, beſides the additional ten thouſand: they likewiſe reſolved, That the proportion to be employed in Portugal ſhould amount to eight thouſand. Sums were granted for the maintenance of theſe great armaments, as well as for the ſubſidies payable to her Majeſty's allies; and funds appointed equal to the occaſion. Then they aſſured the Queen, in an addreſs, that they would provide for the ſupport of ſuch alliances as ſhe had made, or ſhould make, with the Duke of Savoy.

§ II. At this period the nation was alarmed by the detection of a conſpiracy ſaid to be hatched by the Jacobites of Scotland. Simon Fraſer Lord Lovat, a man of deſperate enterpriſe, profound diſſimulation, abandoned morals, and ruined fortune, who had been outlawed for having raviſhed a ſiſter of the Marquis of Athol, was the perſon to whom the plot ſeems to have owed its origin. He repaired to the court of St. Germain's, where he undertook to aſſemble a body of twelve thouſand Highlanders to act in favour of the Pretender, if the court of France would aſſiſt them with a ſmall reinforcement of troops, together with officers, arms, ammunition, and money. The French King ſeemed to liſten to the propoſal; but, as Fraſer's character was infamous, he doubted his veracity. He was, therefore, ſent back to Scotland with two other perſons, who were inſtructed to learn the ſtrength and ſentiments of

1703.

of the clans, and endeavour to engage ſome of the nobility in the deſign of an inſurrection. Fraſer no ſooner returned, than he privately diſcovered the whole tranſaction to the Duke of Queenſberry, and undertook to make him acquainted with the whole correſpondence between the Pretender and the Jacobites. In conſequence of this ſervice he was provided with a paſs, to ſecure him from all proſecution; and made a progreſs through the Highlands, to ſound the inclination of the chieftains. Before he ſet out on this circuit, he delivered to the Duke a letter from the Queen Dowager at St. Germain's, directed to the Marquis of Athol: it was couched in general terms, and ſuperſcribed in a different character; ſo that, in all probability, Fraſer had forged the direction, with a view to ruin the Marquis, who had proſecuted him for the injury done to his ſiſter. He propoſed a ſecond journey to France, where he ſhould be able to diſcover other more material circumſtances; and the Duke of Queenſberry procured a paſs for him to go to Holland from the Earl of Nottingham, though it was expedited under a borrowed Name. The Duke had communicated his diſcovery to the Queen, without diſcloſing his name, which he deſired might be concealed: her Majeſty believed the particulars, which were confirmed by her ſpies at Paris, as well as by the evidence of Sir John Maclean, who had lately been convoyed from France to England in an open boat, and apprehended at Folkſtone. This gentleman pretended at firſt, that his intention was to go through England to his own country, in order to take the benefit of the Queen's pardon; and this, in all probability, was his real deſign; but being given to underſtand that he would be treated in England as a traitor, unleſs he ſhould merit forgiveneſs, by making important diſcoveries, he related all he knew of the propoſed inſurrection. From his informations the miniſtry gave directions

BOOK I. 1703. for apprehending one Keith, whoſe uncle had accompanied Fraſer from France, and knew all the intrigues of the court of St. Germain's. He declared, that there was no other deſign on foot, except that of paving the way for the Pretender's aſcending the throne after the Queen's deceaſe. Ferguſon, that veteran conſpirator, affirmed that Fraſer had been employed by the Duke of Queenſberry to decoy ſome perſons whom he hated into a conſpiracy, that he might have an opportunity to effect their ruin; and by the diſcovery eſtabliſh his own credit, which began to totter. Perhaps there was too much reaſon for this imputation. Among thoſe who were ſeized at this time was a gentleman of the name of Lindſay, who had been under-ſecretary to the Earl of Middleton. He had returned from France to Scotland, in order to take the benefit of the Queen's pardon, under the ſhelter of which he came to England, thinking himſelf ſecure from proſecution. He proteſted he knew of no deſigns againſt the Queen or her government; and that he did not believe ſhe would ever receive the leaſt injury or moleſtation from the court of St. Germain's. The Houſe of Lords having received intimation of this conſpiracy, reſolved, That a Committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the particulars; and ordered, That Sir John Maclean ſhould be next day brought to their Houſe. The Queen, who was far from being pleaſed with this inſtance of their officious interpoſition, gave them to underſtand by meſſage, that ſhe thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun; and that ſhe would in a ſhort time inform the Houſe of the whole affair. On the ſeventeenth day of December the Queen went to the Houſe of Peers, and having paſſed the bill for the land-tax, made a ſpeech to both Houſes, in which ſhe declared, that ſhe had unqueſtionable information of ill practices and deſigns carried on by

by the emiſſaries of France in Scotland. The Lords perſiſting in their reſolution to bring the enquiry into their own Houſe, choſe their ſelect committee by ballot; and in an addreſs, thanked her Majeſty for the information ſhe had been pleaſed to communicate. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ III. The Commons, taking it for granted that the Queen was diſobliged at theſe proceedings of the Upper Houſe, which, indeed, implied an inſult upon her miniſtry, if not upon herſelf, preſented an addreſs, declaring themſelves ſurprized to find, that when perſons ſuſpected of treaſonable practices were taken into cuſtody by her Majeſty's meſſengers, in order to be examined, the Lords, in violation to the known laws of the land, had wreſted them out of her hands, and arrogated the examination ſolely to themſelves; ſo that a due enquiry into the evil practices and deſigns againſt her Majeſty's perſon and government might, in a great meaſure, be obſtructed. They earneſtly deſired, that ſhe would ſuffer no diminution of the prerogative; and they aſſured her they would to the utmoſt of their power, ſupport her in the exerciſe of it at home, as well as in aſſerting it againſt all invaſions whatſoever. The Queen thanked them for their concern and aſſurances; and was not ill pleaſed at the nature of the addreſs, though the charge againſt the Peers was not ſtrictly true; for there were many inſtances of their having aſſumed ſuch a right of enquiry. The upper Houſe deeply reſented the accuſation. They declared, that by the known laws and cuſtoms of Parliament, they had an undoubted right to take examinations of perſons charged with criminal matters, whether thoſe perſons were, or were not in cuſtody. They reſolved, That the addreſs of the Commons was unparliamentary, groundleſs, without precedent, highly injurious to the Houſe of Peers, tending to interrupt the good correſpondence between the two

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Houſes, to create an ill opinion in her Majeſty of the Houſe of Peers, of dangerous conſequence to the liberties of the People, the conſtitution of the kingdom, and privileges of Parliament. They preſented a long remonſtrance to the Queen, juſtifying their own conduct, explaining the ſteps they had taken, recriminating upon the Commons, and expreſſing the moſt fervent zeal, duty, and affection to her Majeſty. In her anſwer to this repreſentation which was drawn up with elegance, propriety, and preciſion, ſhe profeſſed her ſorrow for the miſunderſtanding which had happened between the two Houſes of Parliament, and thanked them for the concern they had expreſſed for the rights of the Crown and the Prerogative; which ſhe ſhould never exert ſo willingly as for the good of her ſubjects, and the protection of their liberties.

§ IV. Among other perſons ſeized on the coaſt of Suſſex, on their landing from France, was one Boucher, who had been aide-du-camp to the Duke of Berwick. This man, when examined, denied all knowledge of any conſpiracy: he ſaid, that being weary of living ſo long abroad, and having made ſome unſucceſsful attempts to obtain a paſs, he had choſen rather to caſt himſelf on the Queen's mercy, than to remain longer in exile from his native country. He was tried and condemned for high treaſon, yet continued to declare himſelf ignorant of the plot. He proved, that in the war of Ireland, as well as in Flanders, he had treated the Engliſh priſoners with great humanity. The Lords deſiſted from the proſecution; he obtained a reprieve, and died in Newgate. On the twenty-ninth day of January the Earl of Nottingham told the Houſe, that the Queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto diſcovered of the conſpiracy in Scotland; but that there was one circumſtance which could not yet be properly communicated, without running the riſque of preventing a diſcovery

diſcovery of greater importance. They forthwith drew up and preſented an addreſs, deſiring, that all the papers might be immediately ſubmitted to their inſpection. The Queen ſaid ſhe did not expect to be preſſed in this manner immediately after the declaration ſhe had made: but in a few days the Earl of Nottingham delivered the papers ſealed, to the Houſe, and all the Lords were ſummoned to attend on the eighth day of February, that they might be opened and peruſed. Nottingham was ſuſpected of a deſign to ſtifle the conſpiracy. Complaint was made in the Houſe of Commons, that he had diſcharged an officer belonging to the late King James, who had been ſeized by the governor of Berwick. A warm debate enſued, and at length ended in a reſolve, That the Earl of Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unqueſtionable fidelity to the Queen and her government, and for his ſteady adherence to the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed, highly merited the truſt her Majeſty had repoſed in him. They ordered the Speaker to preſent this reſolution to the Queen, who ſaid, ſhe was glad to find them ſo well ſatisfied with the Earl of Nottingham, who was truſted by her in ſo conſiderable an office. They peruſed the examinations of the witneſſes which were laid before them, without paſſing judgment, or offering advice on the ſubject: but they thanked her Majeſty for having communicated thoſe particulars, as well as for her wiſdom and care of the nation. When the Lords proceeded with uncommon eagerneſs in their enquiry, the Lower Houſe, in another addreſs, renewed their complaints againſt the conduct of the Peers, which they ſtill affirmed was without a precedent. But this was the language of irritated faction, by which indeed both ſides were equally actuated.

§ V.

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§ V. The ſelect committee of the Lords proſecuted the enquiry, and founded their report chiefly on the confeſſion of Sir John Maclean, who owned that the Court of St. Germain's had liſtened to Lovat's propoſal: that ſeveral councils had been held at the Pretender's court on the ſubject of an invaſion; and that perſons were ſent over to ſound ſome of the nobility in Scotland. But the nature of their private correſpondence and negociation could not be diſcovered. Keith had tampered with his uncle to diſcloſe the whole ſecret; and this was the circumſtance which the Queen declined imparting to the Lords, until ſhe ſhould know the ſucceſs of his endeavours, which proved ineffectual. The Uncle ſtood aloof; and the miniſtry did not heartily engage in the enquiry. The Houſe of Lords having finiſhed theſe examinations, and being warmed with violent debates, voted, That there had been dangerous plots between ſome perſons in Scotland and the Courts of France and St. Germain's; and, That the encouragement for this plotting aroſe from the not ſettling the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Scotland in the Houſe of Hanover. Theſe votes were ſignified to the Queen in an addreſs; and they promiſed, that when the ſucceſſion ſhould be thus ſettled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon juſt and reaſonable terms. Then they compoſed another repreſentation, in anſwer to the ſecond addreſs of the Commons touching their proceedings. They charged the Lower Houſe with want of zeal in the whole progreſs of this enquiry. They produced a great number of precedents, to prove that their conduct had been regular and parliamentary; and they, in their turn, accuſed the Commons of partiality and injuſtice in vacating legal elections. The Queen, in anſwer to this remonſtrance, ſaid, ſhe looked upon any miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes as a very greatmisfortune to the kingdom; and that ſhe ſhould never omit any thing

in her power to prevent all occaſions of them for the future. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ VI. The Lords and Commons, animated by ſuch oppoſite principles, ſeized every opportunity of thwarting each other. An action having been brought by one Matthew Aſhby againſt William White, and the other conſtables of Aleſbury, for having denied him the privilege of voting in the laſt election, the cauſe was tried at the aſſizes, and the conſtables were caſt with damages. But an order was given in the Queen's Bench to quaſh all the proceedings, ſince no action had ever been brought on that account. The cauſe being moved by writ of error into the Houſe of Lords, was argued with great warmth: at length it was carried by a great majority, that the order of the Queen's Bench ſhould be ſet aſide, and judgment pronounced according to the verdict given at the aſſizes. The Commons conſidered theſe proceedings as encroaching on their privileges. They paſſed five different reſolutions, importing, That the Commons of England in Parliament aſſembled had the ſole right to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of Election of their own members: That the practice of determining the qualifications of electors in any court of law would expoſe all mayors, bailiffs, and returning officers, to a multiplicity of vexatious ſuits, and inſupportable expences, and ſubject them to different and independent juriſdictions, as well as to inconſiſtent determinations in the ſame caſe, without relief: That Matthew Aſhby was guilty of a breach of privilege, as were all attornies, ſolicitors, counſellors, and ſerjeants at law, ſoliciting, proſecuting, or pleading, in any caſe of the ſame nature. Theſe reſolutions, ſigned by the clerk, were fixed upon the gate of Weſtminſter-hall. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to draw up a ſtate of the caſe; and, upon their report, reſolved, That every perſon being wilfully hindered to exerciſe his right

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right of voting, might maintain an action in the Queen's courts againſt the officer by whom his vote ſhould be refuſed, to aſſert his right, and recover damage for the injury: That an aſſertion to the contrary was deſtructive of the property of the ſubjects, againſt the freedom of elections, and manifeſtly tended to the encouragement of partiality and corruption: That the declaring of Matthew Aſhby guilty of a breach of privilege of the Houſe of Commons was an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of Parliament, and an attempt to ſubject the law of England to the votes of the Houſe of Commons. Copies of the caſe, and theſe reſolutions, were ſent by the Lord-keeper to all the Sheriffs of England, to be circulated through all the boroughs of their reſpective counties.

§ VII. On the ſeventh day of February, the Queen ordered ſecretary Hedges to tell the Houſe of Commons, that ſhe had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy: that ſhe would grant her whole revenue ariſing out of the firſt-fruits and tenths, as far as it ſhould become free from incumbrance, as an augmentation of their maintenance: that if the Houſe of Commons could find any method by which her intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be an advantage to the Publick, and acceptable to her Majeſty. The Commons immediately brought in a bill, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter, to direct the application of it to the uſes propoſed: they likewiſe repealed the ſtatute of Mortmain, ſo far as to allow all men to bequeath by will, or grant by deed, any ſum they ſhould think fit to give towards the augmentation of benefices. Addreſſes of thanks and acknowledgement from all the clergy of England were preſented to the Queen for her gracious bounty: but very little regard was paid to Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum, although the Queen declared that Prelate author

thor of the project. He was generally hated, either as a Scot, a Low-churchman, or a meddling Partiſan. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ VIII. In March an enquiry into the condition of the Navy was begun in the Houſe of Lords. They deſired the Queen in an addreſs to give ſpeedy and effectual orders, that a number of ſhips ſufficient for the home ſervice ſhould be equipped and manned with all poſſible expedition. They reſolved, That Admiral Graydon's not attacking the four French ſhips in the Channel had been a prejudice to the Queen's ſervice, and a diſgrace to the nation: That his preſſing men in Jamaica, and his ſeverity towards maſters of merchant veſſels and tranſports, had been a great diſcouragement to the inhabitants of that iſland, as well as prejudicial to her Majeſty's ſervice; and they preſented the addreſs againſt him, in conſequence of which he was diſmiſſed. They examined the accounts of the Earl of Orford, againſt which great clamour had been raiſed; and taking cognizance of the remarks made by the commiſſioners of the publick accounts found them falſe in fact, ill-grounded, and of no importance. The Commons beſought the Queen to order a proſecution on account of ill practices in the Earl of Ranelagh's office: and they ſent up to the Lords a bill for continuing the commiſſion on the public accounts. Some alterations were made in the Upper Houſe, eſpecially in the nomination of commiſſioners; but theſe were rejected by the Commons. The Peers adhering to their amendments, the bill dropped, and the commiſſion expired. No other bill of any conſequence paſſed in this ſeſſion, except an act for raiſing recruits, which impowered Juſtices of the Peace to impreſs idle perſons for ſoldiers and marines. On the third day of April the Queen went to the Houſe of Peers, and having made a ſhort ſpeech on the uſual topicks of acknowledgement, unity, and moderation, prorogued the Parliament to the fourth

day

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day of July. The diviſion ſtill continued between the two Houſes of Convocation; ſo that nothing of moment was tranſacted in that aſſembly, except their addreſs to the Queen upon her granting the firſt-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of ſmall benefices. At the ſame time, the Lower Houſe ſent their Prolocutor with a deputation to wait upon the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to return their thanks to that honourable Houſe for having eſpouſed the intereſt of the Clergy; and to aſſure them that the Convocation would purſue ſuch methods as might beſt conduce to the ſupport, honour, intereſt, and ſecurity of the Church as now by law eſtabliſhed. They ſent up to the Archbiſhop and Prelates divers repreſentations, containing complaints, and propoſing canons and articles of reformation: but very little regard was paid to their remonſtrances.

§ IX. About this period the Earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually preſſed the Queen to diſcard the Duke of Somerſet and Devonſhire, reſigned the ſeals. The Earl of Jerſey and Sir Edward Seymour were diſmiſſed: the Earl of Kent was appointed chamberlain, Harley ſecretary of ſtate, and Henry St. John ſecretary of war. The diſcovery of the Scottiſh conſpiracy was no ſooner known in France, than Louis ordered Fraſer to be impriſoned in the Baſtile. In England, Lindſay being ſentenced to die for having correſponded with France, was given to underſtand that he had no mercy to expect, unleſs he would diſcover the conſpiracy. He perſiſted in denying all knowledge of any ſuch conſpiracy; and, ſcorned to ſave his life by giving falſe information. In order to intimidate him into a confeſſion, the miniſtry ordered him to be conveyed to Tyburn, where he ſtill rejected life upon the terms propoſed: then he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained ſome years: at length he was baniſhed, and died of hunger in Holland. The miniſters had been ſo lukewarm and languid in the inveſtigation

veſtigation of the Scottiſh conſpiracy, that the Whigs loudly exclaimed againſt them as diſguiſed Jacobites, and even whiſpered inſinuations, implying, that the Queen herſelf had a ſecret bias of ſiſterly affection for the Court of St. Germain's. What ſeemed to confirm this allegation, was the diſgrace of the Duke of Queenſberry, who had exerted himſelf with remarkable zeal in the detection; but the decline of his intereſt in Scotland was the real cauſe of his being laid aſide at this juncture. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ X. The deſign of the Court was to procure in the Scottiſh Parliament the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the Crown, and a ſupply for the forces, which could not be obtained in the preceding ſeſſion. Secretary Johnſton, in concert with the Marquis of Tweedale, undertook to carry theſe points, in return for certain limitations on the ſucceſſor, to which her Majeſty agreed. The Marquis was appointed Commiſſioner. The office of Lord-regiſter was beſtowed upon Johnſton; and the Parliament met on the ſixth day of July. The Queen, in her letter, expreſſed her concern that theſe diviſions ſhould have riſen to ſuch a height, as to encourage the enemies of the nation to employ their emiſſaries for debauching her good ſubjects from their allegiance. She declared her reſolution to grant whatever could in reaſon be demanded for quieting the minds of the people. She told them, ſhe had empowered the Marquis of Tweedale to give unqueſtionable proofs of her determination to maintain the government in Church and State as by law eſtabliſhed in that kingdom; to conſent to ſuch laws as ſhould be found wanting for the further ſecurity of both, and for preventing all encroachments for the future. She earneſtly exhorted them to ſettle the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, as a ſtep abſolutely neceſſary for their own peace and happineſs, the quiet and ſecurity of all her dominions, the reputation of her affairs abroad, and the improvement of the Proteſtant intereſt through all

Burnet Hiſt. of Q. Anne. Feuquieres Lockhart. Burchet. Tindall. Livesofthe Admirals. Voltaire. Hiſt. of Europe. Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough.

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all Europe. She declared, that ſhe had authorized the Commiſſioners to give the Royal aſſent to whatever could be reaſonably demanded, and was in her power to grant, for ſecuring the ſovereignty and liberties of that her ancient kingdom. The remaining part of the letter turned upon the neceſſity of their granting a ſupply, the diſcouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the uſual recommendation of moderation and unanimity.

§ XI. The Duke of Hamilton preſented a reſolve, That the Parliament would not name a ſucceſſor to the Crown, until the Scots ſhould have concluded a previous treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. This motion produced a warm debate, in the courſe of which Fletcher o Salton expatiated upon the hardſhips and miſeries which the Scots had ſuſtained ſince the union of the two Crowns under one Sovereign, and the impoſſibility of bettering their condition, unleſs they ſhould take care to anticipate any deſign that tended to a continuation of the ſame calamities. Another reſolve was produced by the Earl of Rothes, importing, That the Parliament ſhould proceed to make ſuch limitations and conditions of the government as might be judged proper for rectifying the conſtitution; for vindicating and ſecuring the ſovereignty and independency of the nation; and that then Parliament would take into conſideration the other reſolve offered by the Duke of Hamilton, for a treaty previous to the nomination of a ſucceſſor. This propoſal was ſeconded by the court-party, and violent heats enſued. At length, Sir James Falconer, of Pheſdo, offered an expedient, which neither party could refuſe with any ſhow of moderation. He ſuggeſted a reſolve, That the Parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a ſucceſſor, until the previous treaty with England ſhould be diſcuſſed; and that it would make the neceſſary limitations and conditions of government, before the ſucceſſor ſhould be

be nominated. This joint-reſolve, being put to the vote, was carried by a great majority. The treaty with England was neglected, and the affair of the ſucceſſion conſequently poſtponed. The Duke of Athol moved, That her Majeſty ſhould be deſired to ſend down the witneſſes and all the papers relating to the conſpiracy, that, after due examination, thoſe who were unjuſtly accuſed might be vindicated, and the guilty puniſhed according to their demerits. The Commiſſioner declared, that he had already written, and would write again to the Queen on that ſubject. The intention of the Cavaliers was to convict the Duke of Queenſberry of malice and calumny in the proſecution of that affair, that they might wreak their vengeance upon him for that inſtance of his animoſity, as well as for his having deſerted them in the former ſeſſion. He found means, however, to perſuade the Queen, that ſuch an enquiry would not only protract the ſeſſion, but alſo divert them from the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, and raiſe ſuch a ferment as might be productive of tragical conſequences. Alarmed at theſe ſuggeſtions, ſhe reſolved to prevent the examination; and gave no anſwer to the repeated applications made by her Parliament and miniſters. Mean while the Duke of Queenſberry appeaſed his enemies in Scotland, by directing all his friends to join in the oppoſition.

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§ XII. The Duke of Hamilton again moved, That the Parliament ſhould proceed to the limitations, and name Commiſſioners to treat with England, previous to all other buſineſs, except an act for a land-tax of two months, neceſſary for the immediate ſubſiſtence of the forces. The Earl of Marchmont propoſed an act to exclude all Popiſh ſucceſſors; but this was warmly oppoſed as unſeaſonable, by Hamilton and his party. A bill of ſupply being offered by the Lord Juſtice Clerk, the Cavaliers tacked to it great part of the Act of Security, to which the Royal aſſent had been refuſed in

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the former ſeſſion. Violent debates aroſe; ſo that the Houſe was filled with rage and tumult. The national ſpirit of independence had been wrought up to a dangerous pitch of enthuſiaſm. The ſtreets were crowded with people of all ranks, exclaiming againſt Engliſh influence; and threatening to ſacrifice as traitors to their country, all who ſhould embrace meaſures that ſeemed to favour a foreign intereſt. The Commiſſioner and his friends were confounded and appalled. Finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, he, with the concurrence of the other miniſters, wrote a letter to the Queen, repreſenting the uncomfortable ſituation of affairs, and adviſing her Majeſty to paſs the bill, encumbered as it was with the Act of Security. Lord Godolphin, on whoſe council ſhe chiefly relied, found himſelf involved in great perplexity. The Tories had devoted him to deſtruction. He foreſaw that the Queen's conceſſion to the Scots in an affair of ſuch conſequence, would furniſh his enemies with a plauſible pretence to arraign the conduct of her miniſter: but he choſe to run that riſque, rather than ſee the army diſbanded for want of a ſupply, and the kingdom left expoſed to an invaſion. He, therefore, ſeconded the advice of the Scottiſh miniſters; and the Queen authorized the Commiſſioner to paſs the bill that was depending. The act provided, That in Caſe of the Queen's dying without iſſue a Parliament ſhould immediately meet, and declare the ſucceſſor to the Crown, different from the perſon poſſeſſing the throne of England, unleſs before that period a ſettlement ſhould be made in Parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of Engliſh councils: by another clauſe, they were empowered to arm and train the ſubjects, ſo as to put them in a poſture of defence. The Scottiſh Parliament having, by a laudable exertion of ſpirit, obtained this Act of Security, granted the ſupply without further heſitation: but, not yet ſatisfied

tisfied with this ſacrifice, they engaged in debates about the conſpiracy, and the proceedings of the Houſe of Lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in their concerns, and an encroachment upon the ſovereignty and independency of the nation. They drew up an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring that the evidence and papers relating to the plot might be ſubjected to their examination in the next ſeſſion. Mean while, the Commiſſioner, dreading the further progreſs of ſuch an ungovernable ferocity, prorogued the Parliament to the ſeventh day of October. The Act of Security being tranſmitted to England, copies of it were circulated by the enemies of Godolphin, who repreſented it as a meaſure of that miniſter; and the kingdom was filled with murmurs and diſcontent. People openly declared, that the two kingdoms were now ſeparated by law, ſo as never to be rejoined. Reports were ſpread, that great quantities of arms had been conveyed to Scotland, and that the natives were employed in preparations to invade England. All the blame of theſe tranſactions was imputed to Lord Godolphin, whom the Tories determined to attack, while the other party reſolved to exert their whole influence for his preſervation: yet, in all probability, he owed his immediate ſupport to the ſucceſs of his friend the Duke of Marlborough.

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§ XIII. Nothing could be more deplorable than the ſituation to which the Emperor was reduced in the beginning of the ſeaſon. The malcontents in Hungary had rendered themſelves formidable by their ſucceſs: the Elector of Bavaria poſſeſſed all the places on the Danube, as far as Paſſau, and even threatened the city of Vienna, which muſt have been infallibly loſt, had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert. By the advice of Prince Eugene, the emperor implored the aſſiſtance of her Britannick Majeſty; and the Duke of Marlborough explained to her the neceſſity of undertaking his relief.

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This nobleman in the month of January had croſſed the ſea to Holland, and concerted a ſcheme with the deputies of the States-General, for the operations of the enſuing campaign. They agreed, that General Auverquerque ſhould lie upon the defenſive with a ſmall body of troops in the Netherlands, while the main army of the allies ſhould act upon the Rhine, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough. Such was the pretext under which this conſummate General concealed another plan, which was communicated to a few only, in whoſe diſcretion he could confide. It was approved by the Penſionary and ſome leading men, who ſecured its favourable reception with the States-General, when it became neceſſary to impart the ſecret to that numerous aſſembly. In the mean time, the preparations were made, on pretence of carrying the war to the banks of the Moſelle.

§ XIV. In the month of April, the Duke, accompanied by his brother General Churchill, Lieutenant General Lumley, the Earl of Orkney, and other officers of diſtinction, embarked for Holland, where he had a long conference with a deputation of the State, concerning a propoſal of ſending a large army towards the Moſelle. The deputies of Zealand oppoſed this meaſure of ſending their troops to ſuch a diſtance ſo ſtrenuouſly, that the Duke was obliged to tell them, in plain terms, he had received orders to march thither with the Britiſh forces. He accordingly aſſembled his army at Maeſtricht; and on the eighth day of May began his march into Germany. The French imagined his intention was to begin the campaign with the ſiege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moſelle. In this perſuaſion they ſent a detachment into that river; and gave out that they intended to inveſt Huy, a pretence to which the Duke paid no regard. He continued his route by Bedburg, Kerpenord, Kalſecken: he viſited the fortifications of Bonne, where he

he received certain advice, that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined the Elector at Villingen. He redoubled his diligence, paſſed the Neckar on the third of June, and halted at Ladenburgh: from thence he wrote a letter to the States-General, giving them to underſtand, that he had the Queen's orders to march to the relief of the empire; and expreſſing his hope that they would approve the deſign, and allow their troops to ſhare the honour of the expedition. By the return of a courier he received their approbation, and full power to command their forces. He then proceeded to Mildenheim, where he was viſited by Prince Eugene; and theſe two great men, whoſe talents were congenial, immediately contracted an intimacy of friendſhip. Next day Prince Louis of Baden arrived in the camp at Great Hippach. He told the Duke, his Grace was come to ſave the empire, and to give him an opportunity of vindicating his honour, which he knew was at the laſt ſtake in the opinion of ſome people. The Duke replied, he was come to learn of him how to ſerve the empire: that they muſt be ignorant indeed, who did not know that the Prince of Baden, when his health permitted him, had preſerved the empire, and extended its conqueſts. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XV. Thoſe three celebrated Generals agreed that the two armies ſhould join: that the command ſhould be alternately veſted in the Duke and Prince Louis, from day to day; and that Prince Eugene ſhould command a ſeparate army on the Rhine. Prince Louis returned to his army on the Danube: Prince Eugene ſet out for Philipſburgh; the Duke of Marlborough being joined by the Imperial army under Prince Louis of Baden, at Waſtertellen, proſecuted his march by Elchingen, Gingen, and Landthauſſen. On the firſt day of July he was in ſight of the enemy's entrenchments at Dillingen, and encamped with his right at Amerdighem, and his

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left at Onderingen. Underſtanding that the Elector of Bavaria had detached the beſt part of his infantry to reinforce the Count D'Arco, who was poſted behind ſtrong lines at Schellenberg near Donawert, he reſolved to attack their entrenchments without delay. On the ſecond day of July he advanced towards the enemy, and paſſed the river Wermitz: about five o'clock in the afternoon the attack was begun by the Engliſh and Dutch infantry, ſupported by the horſe and dragoons. They were very ſeverely handled, and even obliged to give way, when Prince Louis of Baden marching up, at the head of the Imperialiſts, to another part of the line, made a diverſion in their favour. After an obſtinate reſiſtance they forced the entrenchments, and the horſe entering with the infantry, fell ſo furiouſly upon the enemy, already diſordered, that they were routed with great ſlaughter. They fled with the utmoſt trepidation to Donawert and the Danube, leaving ſix thouſand men dead on the field of battle. The confederates took ſixteen pieces of cannon, thirteen pair of colours, with all the tents and baggage. Yet the victory was dearly purchaſed; ſome thouſands of the allies were ſlain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were the Generals Goor and Beinheim, and Count Stirum was mortally wounded. Next day the Bavarian garriſon abandoned Donawert, of which the confederates took immediate poſſeſſion, while the Elector paſſed the Danube in his march to the river Leche, leſt the victors ſhould cut off his retreat to his own country. The confederates having croſſed the Danube on ſeveral bridges of pontoons, a detachment was ſent to paſs the Leche, and take poſt in the country of the Elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augſburgh. The garriſon of Neuburgh retiring to Ingoldſtadt, the place was ſecured by the confederates; and the Count de Frize was detached with nine battalions and fifteen ſquadrons to inveſt the town of Rain.

Rain. Advice arriving from Prince Eugene, that the Mareſchals Villeroy and Tallard had paſſed the Rhine at Fort Kehl, with an army of five-and-forty thouſand men, to ſuccour the Elector of Bavaria, the Generals of the allies immediately detached Prince Maximilian of Hanover with thirty ſquadrons of horſe, as a reinforcement to the Prince. In a few days Rain ſurrendered, and Aicha was taken by aſſault. The Emperor no ſooner received a confirmation of the victory of Schellenberg, than he wrote a letter of acknowledegment to the Duke of Marlborough, and ordered Count Wratiſlau to intimate his intention of inveſting him with the title of Prince of the Empire, which the Duke declined accepting, until the Queen interpoſed her authority at the deſire of Leopold. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XVI. The allies advanced within a league of Augſburgh, and though they found the Elector of Bavaria too ſecurely poſted under the cannon of that city, to be diſlodged or attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs, they encamped with Friedburgh in their centre, ſo as to cut off all communication between him and his dominions. The Duke of Marlborough having reduced him to this ſituation, propoſed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French intereſt, and join the imperialiſts in Italy. His ſubjects ſeeing themſelves at the mercy of the allies, preſſed him to comply with theſe offers, rather than expoſe his country to ruin and deſolation. A negociation was begun, and he ſeemed ready to ſign the articles, when hearing that Mareſchal Tallard had paſſed the Black Foreſt, to join him with a great body of forces, he declared, that ſince the King of France had made ſuch powerful efforts to ſupport him, he thought himſelf obliged in honour to continue firm in his alliance. The Generals of the allies were ſo exaſperated at this diſappointment, that they ſent out detachments to ravage the country of Bavaria, as far as Munich: upwards

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wards of three hundred towns, villages, and caſtles, were inhumanly deſtroyed, to the indelible diſgrace of thoſe who countenanced and conducted ſuch barbarous practices. The Elector ſhocked at theſe brutal proceedings, deſired, in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, that a ſtop might be put to acts of violence ſo oppoſite to true glory. The anſwer he received implied, that it was in his own power to put an end to them by a ſpeedy accommodation. Incenſed at this reply, he declared, that ſince they had obliged him to draw the ſword, he would throw away the ſcabbard. The Duke and Prince Louis, finding it impracticable to attack the Elector in his ſtrong camp, reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, and for that purpoſe paſſed the Paer near the town of Schrobbenhauſen, where they encamped, with their left at Cloſterburgh. On the fifth day of Auguſt the Elector of Bavaria marched to Biberach, where he was joined by Tallard. He reſolved to paſs the Danube at Lawingen, to attack Prince Eugene, who had followed the French army from the lines of Bichi, and lay encamped at Hochſtadt. Next day, however, he made a motion that diſappointed the enemy. Nevertheleſs, they perſiſted in their deſign of paſſing the Danube, and encamping at Blenheim. The allies reſolved that Prince Louis ſhould undertake the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, whilſt Prince Eugene and the Duke ſhould obſerve the Elector of Bavaria. Advice being received that he had actually croſſed the Danube at Lawingen, the Duke of Marlborough joined the forces of Prince Eugene at the camp of Munſter on the eleventh day of Auguſt, Prince Louis having by this time marched off towards the place he intended to beſiege. Next day the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene obſerved the poſture of the enemy, who were advantageouſly poſted on a hill near Hochſtadt, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, their left by the village of Lutzengen,

zengen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were ſteep, and the bottom marſhy. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XVII. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, the Generals reſolved to attack them immediately, rather than lie inactive until their forage and proviſion ſhould be conſumed. They were moreover ſtimulated to this hazardous enterprize, by an intercepted letter to the Elector of Bavaria from Mareſchal Villeroy, giving him to underſtand, that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirtemberg, and intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The diſpoſitions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the thirteenth day of Auguſt, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both ſides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about ſixty thouſand men. Mareſchal Tallard commanded on the right, and poſted ſeven-and-twenty battalions, with twelve ſquadrons, in the village of Blenheim, ſuppoſing that there the allies would make their chief effort: their left was conducted by the Elector of Bavaria, aſſiſted by Marſin, a French General of experience and capacity. The number of the confederates did not exceed five-and-fifty: their right was under the direction of Prince Eugene, and their left commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of Engliſh and Heſſians, under Major-General Wilkes, who having paſſed the rivulet with difficulty, and filed off to the left in the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigour; but were repulſed after three ſucceſſive attempts. Mean while the troops in the centre, and part of the right wing, paſſed the rivulet on planks in different places; and formed on the other ſide without any moleſtation from the enemy. At length however, they were charged by the French horſe with

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with ſuch impetuoſity, and ſo terribly galled in flank by the troops poſted at Blenheim, that they fell in diſorder, and part of them repaſſed the rivulet: but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very edges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the confederates being now completely formed, aſcended the hill in a firm compacted body, charging the enemy's horſe, which could no longer ſtand their ground, but rallied ſeveral times as they gave way. Tallard, in order to make a vigorous effort, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals of his cavalry. The Duke, perceiving his deſign ſent three battalions of the troops of Zell to ſuſtain his horſe. Nevertheleſs, the line was a little diſordered by the prodigious fire from the French infantry, and even obliged to recoil about ſixty paces: but the confederates advancing to the charge with redoubled ardour, routed the French horſe; and their battalions being thus abandoned, were cut in pieces. Tallard, having rallied his broken cavalry behind ſome tents that were ſtill ſtanding, reſolved to draw off the troops he had poſted in the village of Blenheim, and ſent an Aide-du-Camp to Marſin, who was with the Elector of Bavaria on the left, to deſire he would face the confederates with ſome troops to the right of the village of Oberklau, ſo as to keep them in play, and favour the retreat of the forces from Blenheim. That officer aſſured him, he was ſo far from being in a condition to ſpare troops, that he could hardly maintain his ground. The fate of the day was now more than half decided. The French cavalry being vigorouſly attacked in flank were totally defeated. Part of them endeavoured to gain the bridge which they had thrown over the Danube between Hochſtadt and Blenheim; but they were ſo cloſely purſued, that thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter threw themſelves into the river, where they periſhed. Tallard, being ſurrounded,

was

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was taken near a mill behind the village of Sonderen, together with the Marquis de Montperouz, General of horſe, the Major-Generals de Seppeville, de Silly, de la Valiere, and many other officers of diſtinction. Whilſt theſe occurrences paſſed on the left wing, Marſin's quarters at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the Prince of Holſtein-beck, who paſſed the rivulet with undaunted reſolution: but, before he could form his men on the other ſide, he was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded, and taken priſoner. His battalions being ſupported by ſome Daniſh and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulſed: at length the Duke of Marlborough in perſon brought up ſome freſh ſquadrons from the body of reſerve, and compelled the enemy to retire. By this time Prince Eugene had obliged the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having ſurmounted a great number of difficulties, ſuſtained a very obſtinate oppoſition, and ſeen his cavalry, in which his chief ſtrength ſeemed to lie, three times repulſed. The Duke of Marlborough had no ſooner defeated the right wing, than he made a diſpoſition to reinforce the Prince, when he underſtood from an Aide-du-Camp, that his Highneſs had no occaſion for aſſiſtance; and that the Elector, with Monſieur de Marſin had abandoned Oberklau and Luteingen. They were purſued as far as the villages of Morſelingen and Teiſſenhoven, from whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen. The confederates being now maſters of the Field of battle, ſurrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as we have already obſerved, ſeven-and-twenty battalions and twelve ſquadrons were poſted. Theſe troops, ſeeing themſelves cut off from all communication with the reſt of their army, and deſpairing of being able to force their way through the allies, capitulated about eight in the evening, laid down their arms, delivered their colours and ſtandards, and

BOOK I. 1704. and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, on condition that the officers ſhould not be rifled. This was one of the moſt glorious and complete victories that ever was obtained. Ten thouſand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle: the greater part of thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons periſhed in the river Danube: thirteen thouſand were made priſoners: one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars; one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and ſeventy-one ſtandards, ſeventeen pair of kettle-drums, three-thouſand ſix hundred tents, four-and-thirty coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, fifteen barrels and eight caſks filled with ſilver. Of the allies, about four thouſand five hundred men were killed, and about eight thouſand wounded or taken. The loſs of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by Mareſchal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre, by detaching ſuch a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and his ſuffering the confederates to paſs the rivulet, and form unmoleſted. Certain it is, theſe circumſtances contributed to the ſucceſs of the Duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hotteſt of the fire with the calmeſt intrepidity, giving his orders with that preſence of mind and deliberation which were ſo peculiar to his character. When he next day viſited Tallard, he told that General, he was ſorry ſuch a misfortune ſhould happen perſonally to one for whom he had a profound eſteem. The Mareſchal congratulated him on having vanquiſhed the beſt troops in the world; a compliment to which the Duke replied, That he thought his own the beſt troops in the world, ſeeing they had conquered thoſe upon whom the Mareſchal had beſtowed ſuch an encomium.

§ XVIII. The victorious Generals having by this deciſive ſtroke ſaved the Houſe of Auſtria from entire ruin, and entirely changed the face of affairs in the

the empire, ſignified their opinion to Prince Louis of Baden, that it would be for the advantage of the common cauſe to join all their forces, and drive the French out of Germany, rather than loſe time at the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, which would ſurrender of courſe. This opinion was confirmed by the conduct of the French garriſon at Augſburg, who quitted that place on the ſixteenth day of Auguſt. The magiſtrates ſent a deputation, craving the protection of the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith ordered a detachment to take poſſeſſion of that important city. The Duke having ſent Mareſchal de Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Franckfort, and diſpoſed of the other priſoners of diſtinction in the adjacent places, encamped at Sefillingen, within half a league of Ulm. Here he held a conference with the Princes Eugene and Louis of Baden, in which they agreed that, as the enemy retreated towards the Rhine, the confederate army ſhould take the ſame route, excepting three-and-twenty battalions and ſome ſquadrons, to be left for the ſiege of Ulm, under General Thungen. They began their march on the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruſchal, near Philipſburgh. Then they reſolved, that Prince Louis of Baden ſhould undertake the ſiege of Landau, in order to ſecure the circle of Suabia from the incurſions of that garriſon. Conſidering the conſternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more impolitick than this meaſure, which gave the enemy time for recollection, and recruiting their forces. It was a propoſal on which the Prince of Baden inſiſted with uncommon obſtinacy. He was even ſuſpected of corruption. He was jealous of the glory which the Duke of Marlborough had acquired, and ſuch a bigotted Papiſt, that he repined at the ſucceſs of an heretical General. On the twelfth day of September he marched towards Landau with the troops deſtined for the ſiege, and the Duke of Marl-

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borough, with Prince Eugene, encamped at Croon Weiſſenburgh, to cover the enterprize. By this time Ulm had ſurrendered to Thungen, even before the trenches were opened. Villeroy advanced with his army towards Landau, as if he had intended to attack the confederates; but retired without having made any attempt for the relief of the place, which was defended with the moſt obſtinate valour till the twenty-third day of November, when the beſiegers having lodged themſelves on the counterſcarp, the breaches being practicable, and the diſpoſitions made for a general aſſault, the garriſon capitulated upon honourable conditions. The King of the Romans had arrived in the camp, that he might have the credit of taking the place, the command of which he beſtowed on the Count de Frize, who had before defended it with equal courage and ability.

§ XIX. The next enterprize which the confederates undertook, was the ſiege of Traerbach. The Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel being entruſted with the direction of the attacks, inveſted the caſtle in the beginning of November. Though it was ſtrongly fortified, and well defended, he carried on his operations with ſuch ſpirit and aſſiduity, that in about ſix weeks the garriſon ſurrendered the place on honourable terms. In the mean time the Duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he negociated for a reinforcement of eight thouſand Pruſſians, to ſerve under Prince Eugene in Italy during the next campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received with particular marks of diſtinction. When he arrived at the Hague, he was congratulated by the States-General on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and as much conſidered in Holland as if he had been actually Stadtholder. He had received a ſecond letter from the Emperor, couched in the warmeſt terms of acknowledgement, and was declared Prince of the Empire. In December he

embarked for England, where he found the people in a tranſport of joy, and was welcomed as a hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XX. In Flanders, nothing of moment was executed, except the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by Baron Spaar, with nine thouſand Dutch troops; and two attempts upon the French lines, which were actually penetrated by Auverquerque, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The Elector of Bavaria, who had retired to Bruſſels after his defeat, formed a ſcheme for ſurprizing the Dutch General at the end of the campaign, and aſſembled all his troops at Tirlemont: but the French court apprehenſive of his temerity, ſent Villeroy to watch his conduct, and prevent his hazarding an engagement, except with a fair proſpect of advantage. The Mareſchal, finding him determined to give battle at all events, repreſented the improbability of ſucceeding againſt an enemy ſo advantageouſly poſted; and the ill conſequences of a repulſe: but, finding the Elector deaf to all his remonſtrances, he flatly refuſed to march, and produced the King's order to avoid an engagement. In Italy the French met with no oppoſition. The Duke of Savoy, being unable to face the enemy in the field, was obliged to lie inactive. He ſaw the Duke de Vendome reduce Vercelli and Ivrea, and undertake the ſiege of Verac; while he poſted his little army on the other ſide of the Po, at Creſcentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he ſupplied the place occaſionally with freſh troops and proviſion. The place held out five months, againſt all the efforts of the French General: at length, the communication being cut off, the Duke of Savoy retired to Chivas. He bore his misfortunes with great equanimity; and told the Engliſh miniſter, that though he was abandoned by the allies, he would never abandon himſelf. The Emperor had neglected Italy, that he might act with more

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indulged with liberty of conſcience: but theſe articles were very ill obſerved by the French miniſtry. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XXI. In Portugal, the intereſt of King Charles wore a very melancholy aſpect. When he arrived at Liſbon, he found no preparations made for opening the campaign. The Portugueſe miniſtry favoured the French in ſecret; the people were averſe to hereticks: the Duke of Schomberg was on ill terms with Fagel, the Dutch general: the Portugueſe forces conſiſted of raw undiſciplined peaſants: and the French ambaſſador had bought up the beſt horſes in the kingdom; ſo that the troopers could not be properly mounted. The King of Portugal had promiſed to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May: but he was not ready till the beginning of June, when they reached Santaren. By this time they had publiſhed their reſpective manifeſtos; Charles diſplaying his title to the crown of Spain, and promiſing pardon to all his ſubjects who would in three months join his army; and the King of Portugal declaring that his ſole aim in taking up arms was to reſtore the liberty of the Spaniſh nation, oppreſſed by the power of France, as well as to aſſert the right of Charles to that monarchy. The preſent poſſeſſor, whom they mentioned by the name of the Duke of Anjou, had already anticipated their invaſion. His General, the Duke of Berwick, entering Portugal, took the town of Segura by ſtratagem. The governor of Salva-terra ſurrendered at diſcretion: Cebreros was reduced without much oppoſition: Zebredo was abandoned by the inhabitants; and the town of Lhana la Viella was taken by aſſault. Portugal was at the ſame time invaded in different parts by the Marquis de Jeoffrevile, Prince Tſerclas de Tilly, and the Marquis de Villadarias. Two Dutch battalions were attacked and taken by the Duke of Berwick at Sodreira Formoſa. Then he paſſed the Tagus, and joined Prince Tſerclaes. King Philip

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arriving in the army, inveſted Portalegre; and the garriſon, including an Engliſh regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Stanhope, were made priſoners of war. The next place he beſieged was Caſtle Davide, which met with the ſame fate. On the other hand, the Marquis Das Minas, in order to make a diverſion, entered Spain with fifteen thouſand men, took Fuente Grimaldo, in Caſtile, by aſſault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himſelf maſter of Manſeinto. The weather growing exceſſively hot, Philip ſent his troops into quarters of refreſhment: and the allies followed his example. Duke Schomberg finding his advice very little regarded by the Portugueſe miniſtry; and ſeeing very little proſpect of ſucceſs, deſired leave to reſign his command, which the Queen beſtowed upon the Earl of Galway, who, with a reinforcement of Engliſh and Dutch troops, arrived at Liſbon on the thirtieth day of July. About the latter end of September, the two Kings repaired to the camp near Almeda, reſolving to invade Caſtile: but they found the river Agueda ſo well guarded by the Duke of Berwick, that they would not attempt a paſſage. They, therefore, retired into the territories of Portugal, and the army was put into winter-quarters. The Spaniards were now ſo weakened, by detachments ſent with the Marquis de Villadarias towards Gibraltar, that the Duke of Berwick could not execute any ſcheme of importance during the remaining part of the campaign.

§ XXII. The arms of England were not leſs fortunate by ſea than they had been upon the Danube. Sir George Rooke having landed King Charles at Liſbon, ſent a ſquadron to cruiſe off Cape Spartell, under the command of Rear Admiral Dilkes, who, on the twelfth of March, engaged and took three Spaniſh ſhips of war, bound from St. Sebaſtion's to Cadiz. Rooke received orders from

from the Queen to ſail to the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which were threatened with a ſiege by the Duke de Vendome: at the ſame time he was preſſed by King Charles to execute a ſcheme upon Barcelona, projected by the Prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, who declared his opinion, that the Catalonians would declare for the Houſe of Auſtria, as ſoon as they ſhould be aſſured of proper ſupport and protection. The miniſtry of England underſtanding that the French were employed in equipping a ſtrong ſquadron at Breſt, and judging it was deſtined to act in the Mediterranean, ſent out Sir Cloudeſley Shovel with a conſiderable fleet, to watch the motions of the Breſt ſquadron; and he was provided with inſtructions how to act, in caſe it ſhould be ſailed to the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, Sir George Rooke, in compliance with the entreaties of King Charles, ſailed with the tranſports under his convoy to Barcelona, and on the eighteenth of May appeared before the city. Next day, the troops were landed by the Prince of Heſſe, to the number of two thouſand, and the Dutch ketches bombarded the place: but by this time the governor had ſecured the chiefs of the Auſtrian party; and the people exhibiting no marks of attachment to King Charles, the Prince re-embarked his ſoldiers, from an apprehenſion of their being attacked and overpowered by ſuperior numbers. On the ſixteenth day of June Sir George Rooke, being joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, reſolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in queſt of the French fleet, which had ſailed thither from Breſt, and which Rooke had actually diſcovered, in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the ſeventeenth day of July the Admiral called a council of war in the Road of Tetuan, when they reſolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but ſlenderly provided with a garriſon. Thither they ſailed, and on the twenty-firſt day of the month the Prince of

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Heſſe landed on the iſthmus with eighteen hundred marines: then he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, and was anſwered, that the place would be defended to the laſt extremity. Next day the Admiral gave orders for cannonading the town: perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the ſouth mole-head, he commanded Captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and aſſault that quarter. The Captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be neareſt the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications ſword in hand. The Spaniards ſprung a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed or wounded. Nevertheleſs, the two captains took poſſeſſion of a platform, and kept their ground until they were ſuſtained by Captain Whitaker, and the reſt of the ſeamen, who took by ſtorm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated; and the Prince of Heſſe entered the place, amazed at the ſucceſs of this attempt, conſidering the ſtrength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men againſt a numerous army.

§ XXIII. A ſufficient garriſon being left with his Highneſs, the Admiral returned to Tetuan, to take in wood and water; and when he ſailed, on the ninth day of Auguſt, he deſcried the French fleet, to which he gave chaſe with all the ſail he could ſpread. On the thirteenth he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of two-and-fifty great ſhips, and four-and-twenty galleys, under the command of the Count de Tholouſe, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue diviſions. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of three-and-fifty ſhips of the line, excluſive of frigates, but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided of gallies, from which the enemy reaped great

great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning the battle began, with equal fury on both ſides, and continued to rage with doubtful ſucceſs till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way: nevertheleſs, the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind ſhifting before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no uſe of this advantage: for two ſucceſſive days the Engliſh admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the Count de Tholouſe declined, and at laſt he diſappeared. The loſs was pretty equal on both ſides, though not a ſingle ſhip was taken or deſtroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the Engliſh. Over and above the diſadvantages we have enumerated, the bottoms of the Britiſh fleet were foul, and ſeveral large ſhips had expended all their ſhot long before the battle ceaſed: yet the enemy were ſo roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war. The French King, in order to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of his people, claimed the victory, and publiſhed an account of the action, which, at this diſtance of time, plainly proves that he was reduced to the mean ſhift of impoſing upon his ſubjects, by falſe and partial repreſentations. Among other exaggerations in this detail, we find mention made of miſchief done to French ſhips by Engliſh bombs; though nothing is more certain than that there was not one bomb veſſel in the combined fleet. The French academy, actuated by a ſervile ſpirit of adulation, cauſed a medal to be ſtruck on the occaſion, which, inſtead of perpetuating the glory of their Prince, ſerved only to tranſmit their own ſhame to poſterity. After the battle, Sir George Rooke ſailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a ſquadron with Sir John Leake, ſet ſail for England on the twenty-fourth day of Auguſt. He arrived

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in September, and was received by the miniſtry, and the people in general, with thoſe marks of eſteem and veneration which were due to his long ſervices and ſignal ſucceſs: but he was ſtill perſecuted with a ſpirit of envy and detraction. Philip King of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, ſent the Marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The ſiege laſted four months, during which the Prince of Heſſe exhibited many ſhining proofs of courage and ability. The place was ſupplied with men and proviſions by convoys from Liſbon, until Monſieur de Pointis put a ſtop to that communication, by entering the bay with a ſtrong ſquadron: but he was obliged to retire at the approach of Sir John Leake and Admiral Vanderduſſen; and the Marquis de Villadarias, having made little or no progreſs on land, thought proper to abandon the enterpriſe.

§ XXIV. The Parliament of England meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, the Queen, in her ſpeech, obſerved that the great and remarkable ſucceſs with which God had bleſſed her arms produced unanimous joy and ſatisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages would enable her to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England, as well as a firm ſupport for the liberty of Europe. She declared her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her ſubjects. She expreſſed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loſs of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but an emulation to promote the public welfare. Congratulatory addreſſes were voted and preſented by both Houſes. They were equal in their profeſſions of duty and affection to the Queen; but the addreſſes imbibed a very different colour from the different ſanctions by which the two Houſes were influenced. The Lords congratulated her on the great and glorious ſucceſs of her

her arms under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, without deigning to mention Sir George Rooke, who had defeated the French navy at ſea, and added the important fortreſs of Gibraltar to the Britiſh conqueſts. On the other hand, the Commons affected to mention the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval victory, as events of equal glory and importance. However they might be warped by prejudice againſt individuals, they did not ſuffer the war to languiſh for want of ſupplies. Having taken into conſideration the ſervices of the army and navy, they voted that the Queen ſhould be deſired to beſtow her bounty on the ſeamen and land-forces who had behaved themſelves ſo gallantly. Then they deliberated upon the different articles of national expence, and granted four millions, ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand, nine hundred, and thirty-one pounds, for the occaſions of the enſuing year, to be raiſed by a land-tax, by the ſale of annuities, and other expedients. Theſe meaſures were taken with ſuch expedition, that the land-tax received the royal aſſent on the ninth day of December; when the Queen, in a ſhort ſpeech, thanked the Commons for their diſpatch, which ſhe conſidered a ſure pledge of their affection. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XXV. The High-church party took this occaſion to promote the bill againſt occaſional conformity, which was revived and brought into the Houſe on a new model, by Mr. William Bromley, who moved that it might be tacked to the land-tax bill, and ſent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The Court no longer eſpouſed this meaſure, and the violent party was weakened by defection. After a warm and tedious debate, the tack was rejected by a great majority. The bill, however, paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords on the fourteenth day of December, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the Queen been preſent, and deſirous of hearing what could be

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ſaid on both ſides of the queſtion. For the information and ſatisfaction of her Majeſty the ſubject was again diſcuſſed, and all the arguments being repeated, the bill was rejected by a majority of one-and-twenty voices. The next ſubject on which the Houſe of Lords employed their attention, was the late conduct of the Scottiſh Parliament. The Lord Haverſham in a ſet ſpeech, obſerved, that the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in Scotland had been poſtponed, partly becauſe the miniſtry for that kingdom were weak and divided; partly from a received opinion that the ſucceſſion was never ſincerely and cordially intended by thoſe who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet council. He expatiated on the bad conſequences that might attend the act of ſecurity, which he ſtiled a bill of excluſion; and particularly mentioned that clauſe by which the heritors and boroughs were ordained to exerciſe their fencible men every month. He ſaid the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any nation in Europe, and generally diſcontented: that the common people were very numerous, very ſtout, and very poor; and he aſked who was the man that could tell what ſuch a multitude, ſo armed, and ſo diſciplined, might do under ſuch leaders, could opportunities ſuit their intention. He recommended theſe circumſtances to the conſideration of the Houſe, and concluded with theſe words of Lord Bacon, "Let "men beware how they neglect or ſuffer matter of "troubles to be prepared; for no man can forbid "the ſparks that may ſet all on fire." The Lords reſolved to conſider theſe ſubjects on the twenty-ninth day of November, when the Queen repaired to the Houſe of Peers to hear the debates, and by her preſence moderate the heat of both parties. The Earl of Nottingham reflected ſo ſeverely on the memory of King William, that he would have been ſent to the Tower, had not the Lords declined any ſuch motion out of reſpect to her Majeſty. After much

much declamation on the Scottiſh act of ſecurity, the grand committee of the Peers, by the advice of Lord Wharton, reſolved, That the Queen ſhould be enabled, by act of Parliament on the part of England, to name commiſſioners to treat about an union with Scotland, provided that the Parliament of Scotland ſhould firſt appoint commiſſioners on their part for the ſame purpoſe: That no Scotſmen ſhould enjoy the privileges of Engliſhmen, except ſuch as were ſettled in England, Ireland, and the Plantations, and ſuch as were or might be in the ſea, or land-ſervice, until an union could be effected, or the ſucceſſion ſettled as in England: That the traffick by cattle from Scotland to England ſhould be prevented; That the Lord Admiral ſhould iſſue orders for taking ſuch veſſels as ſhould be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her Majeſty's enemies; and that care ſhould be taken to prevent the exportation of Engliſh wool into Scotland. On theſe reſolutions a bill was formed for an entire union, and paſſed the Houſe on the twentieth day of December. The Lords preſented an addreſs to the Queen, repreſenting that they had duly weighed the dangerous and pernicious effects that were likely to be produced by divers acts of Parliament lately paſſed in Scotland: That they were of opinion the ſafety of the kingdom required that ſpeedy and effectual orders ſhould be given to put Newcaſtle in a poſture of defence, to ſecure the port of Tinmouth, and repair the fortifications of Hull and Carliſle. They likewiſe adviſed her Majeſty to give directions for diſciplining the militia of the four northern counties; for providing them with arms and ammunition; for maintaining a competent number of regular troops on the northern borders of England, as well as in the north of Ireland; and for putting the laws in execution againſt Papiſts. The Queen promiſed that a ſurvey ſhould be made of the places they had mentioned, and laid before the Parlia-

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BOOK I. 1704. Parliament; and that ſhe would give the neceſſary directions upon the other articles of the addreſs. The Commons ſeemed to concur with the Lords in their ſentiments of the Scottiſh act of ſecurity. They reſolved, that a bill ſhould be brought in for the effectual ſecuring the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that might ariſe from ſeveral acts lately paſſed in the Parliament of Scotland; and this was formed on nearly the ſame reſolutions which had been taken in the Upper Houſe. The bill ſent down by the Lords, was thrice read, and ordered to lie upon the table: but they paſſed their own, to take effect at Chriſtmas, provided before that time the Scots ſhould not ſettle the ſucceſſion. When it was offered to the Lords, they paſſed it without any amendment, contrary to the expectation, and even to the hope, of ſome members who were no friends to the Houſe of Hanover, and firmly believed the Lords would have treated this bill with the ſame contempt which had been manifeſted for that which they had ſent down to the Commons.

§ XXVI. The Duke of Marlborough, at his firſt appearance in the Houſe after his return to England, was honoured with a very extraordinary eulogium, pronounced by the Lord-Keeper, in the name of the Peers of England; and a compliment of the ſame nature was preſented to him by a committee of the Houſe of Commons. Doctor Delaune, Vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied by the principal members of the Univerſity, attended the Queen with an addreſs of congratulation upon the ſucceſs of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the Duke of Marlborough; and at ſea, under the moſt brave and faithful Admiral Sir George Rooke. He received a civil anſwer from her Majeſty, though now ſhe took umbrage at Rooke's being raiſed upon a level with the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe great victories had captivated her admiration, and whoſe wife had alienated her affection

affection from the Tories. The Commons perceiving how high he ſtood in her Majeſty's eſteem, and having been properly tutored for the purpoſe, took into conſideration the great ſervices of the Duke; and, in an addreſs, beſought her Majeſty to conſider ſome proper means to perpetuate the memory of ſuch noble actions. In a few days ſhe gave them to underſtand by a meſſage, that ſhe was inclined to grant the intereſt of the Crown in the honour and manor of Woodſtock and hundred of Wooton to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were granted for two lives, ſhe wiſhed that incumbrance could be removed. A bill was immediately brought in, enabling the Queen to beſtow theſe honours and manors on the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and the Queen was deſired to advance the money for clearing the incumbrances. She not only complied with this addreſs, but likewiſe ordered the Comptroller of her Works to build, in Woodſtock-park, a magnificent palace for the Duke, upon a plan much more ſolid than beautiful. By this time Sir George Rooke was laid aſide, and the Command of the fleet beſtowed upon Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, now declared Rear-admiral of England. Mareſchal de Tallard, with the other French generals taken at Hochſtadt, arrived on the ſixteenth of December in the River Thames, and were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Lichfield, attended by a detachment of the Royal regiment of horſe-guards. They were treated with great reſpect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles around the places of their confinement.

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§ XXVII. While the Houſe of Commons, in two ſucceſſive addreſſes, thanked the Queen for the treaty which the Duke of Marlborough had concluded with Pruſſia, concerning the troops to be ſent to the Duke of Savoy, and deſired he would uſe her intereſt

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tereſt with the allies, that they might next year furniſh their complete proportions of men by ſea and land; the Lords examined into all the proceedings at ſea, and all the inſtructions of the Admiralty; and preſented an addreſs to the Queen, explaining all the different articles of miſmanagement. She promiſed to conſider them particularly, and give ſuch directions upon them as might be moſt for the advantage of the publick ſervice. The remaining part of the ſeſſion was conſumed in diſputes and altercations between the two Houſes on the ſubject of the Ayleſbury conſtables, who were ſued by five other inhabitants for having denied them the right of voting at the election. Theſe five perſons were committed to Newgate by order of the Houſe of Commons. They moved for Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench; but the Court would take no cognizance of the affair. Two of the priſoners petitioned the Queen that their caſe might be brought before her Majeſty in Parliament. The Commons, in an addreſs, beſought the Queen to refuſe granting a Writ of Error in this caſe, which would tend to the overthrowing the undoubted rights and privileges of the Commons of England. She aſſured them ſhe would not do any thing to give them juſt cauſe of complaint; but this matter relating to the courſe of judicial proceedings, being of the higheſt importance, ſhe thought it neceſſary to weigh and conſider very carefully what might be proper for her to do in a thing of ſo great concern. They voted all the lawyers who had pleaded on the return of the Habeas Corpus in behalf of the priſoners guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered them to be taken into cuſtody. They likewiſe ordered the priſoners to be removed from Newgate into the cuſtody of their Serjeant at arms, leſt they ſhould have been diſcharged by the Queen's granting writs of error. The priſoners, finding themſelves at the mercy of the exaſperated Commons, petitioned the Lords for relief,

lief. The Upper Houſe paſſed ſix different reſolutions againſt the conduct of the Commons, as being an obſtruction to juſtice, and contrary to Magna Charta. The Lower Houſe demanded a conference, in which they inſiſted upon the ſole right of determining elections: they affirmed, that they only could judge who had a right of voting; and that they were judges of their own privileges, in which the Lords could not intermeddle. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XXVIII. The Upper Houſe demanded a free conference, which proved ineffectual. New reſolutions were taken by the Commons, diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the Peers, who, on the other hand, attended the Queen with a long repreſentation of all the particulars relating to this affair. They affirmed that the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Ayleſbury men were wholly new and unprecedented: that it was the birthright of every Engliſhman, who apprehended himſelf injured, to ſeek for redreſs in her Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice: that if any power could controul this right, and preſcribe when he ſhould, and when he ſhould not, be allowed the benefit of the laws, he ceaſed to be a freeman, and his liberty and property were precarious. They requeſted, therefore, that no conſideration whatever ſhould prevail with her Majeſty to ſuffer an obſtruction to the known courſe of juſtice; but that ſhe would be pleaſed to give effectual orders for the immediate iſſuing of the Writs of Error. The Queen aſſured them that ſhe ſhould have complied with their requeſt; but, finding an abſolute neceſſity for putting an immediate end to this ſeſſion, ſhe knew there could be no further proceedings on that matter. On the very day, which was the fourteenth of March, ſhe went to the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed the bills that were ready for the royal aſſent. Then ſhe thanked the Parliament for having diſpatched the publick buſineſs: ſhe warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animoſity and diſſention: and

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Burnet. Hiſt. of Europe. Tindal. Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough. Lockhart. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Quincy. Feuquieres Voltaire.

and ordered the Lord Keeper to prorogue them to Thurſday the 1ſt of May: but on the fifth of April they were diſſolved by proclamation, and another was publiſhed for calling a new Parliament. The Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, made an excurſion to Newmarket, and afterwards dined by invitation with the Univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe conferred the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis the vice-chancellor, upon James Montague counſel for the Univerſity, and upon the celebrated Iſaac Newton mathematical profeſſor. The two Houſes of Convocation ſtill continued at variance. The Lower Houſe penned petulent repreſentations; and the Archbiſhop anſwered them by verbal reprehenſion and admonition. The Tory intereſt was now in the wane. The Duke of Buckinghamſhire was deprived of the Privy-ſeal, and that office conferred upon the Duke of Newcaſtle, a nobleman of powerful influence with the Whig party. The Earl of Montague was created Marquis of Mounthermer and Duke of Montague: the Earl of Peterborough and Lord Cholmondely were choſen of the Privy-council; and Lord Cutts was ſent to command the troops in Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond.

§ XXIX. The miniſtry of Scotland was now entirely changed. The Marquis of Tweedale and Johnſtone, having been found unequal to the undertaking, were diſmiſſed. The Duke of Queenſberry reſumed the management of Affairs in that kingdo m under the title of Lord Privy-ſeal; and the office of Commiſſioner was conferred upon the young Duke of Argyle, who ſucceeded to his father's influence among the Preſbyterians. He was a nobleman poſſeſſed of good natural talents, which had not been neglected; candid, open, and ſincere: brave, paſſionate, and aſpiring: had he been endued with a greater ſhare of liberality, his character would have been truly heroic. At this juncture he was inſtructed

ſtructed to procure an act of the Scottiſh Parliament, settling the Proteſtant ſucceſſion: or to ſet on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms. At the opening of the ſeſſion in June the members were divided into three parties, namely, the Cavaliers or Jacobites, the Revolutioners, the Squadrone Volante, or Flying Squadron, headed by the Marquis of Tweedale, who diſclaimed the other two factions, and pretended to act from the dictates of conſcience alone. The Parliament was adjourned to the third day of July, when her Majeſty's letter was read, earneſtly recommending the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and an act for a commiſſion to treat of an union between the two kingdoms. The Marquis of Annandale propoſed that the Parliament ſhould proceed on the limitations and conditions of government: that a committee ſhould be appointed to conſider the condition of the coin and the commerce of the nation. The Earl of Mar moved, that the Houſe would, preferable to all other buſineſs, conſider the means for engaging in a treaty with England. After a long debate they reſolved to proceed on the coin and the commerce. Schemes for ſupplying the nation with money by a paper-credit were preſented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne and John Law; but rejected. The Houſe reſolved, That any kind of paper-credit, by the circulation of bills, was an improper expedient; and appointed a council to put the laws relating to trade in execution. The Duke of Hamilton propoſed that the Parliament ſhould not proceed to the nomination of a ſucceſſor, until the treaty with England ſhould be diſcuſſed, and the limitations ſettled. This propoſal being approved, a draft of an anſwer to her Majeſty's letter was preſented by the Marquis of Tweedale. Two different forms of an act for a treaty with England were offered by the Earl of Mar and the Marquis of Lothian: others were produced concerning

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1704. § XXX. The chief aim of the Cavaliers was to obſtruct the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion; and with that view they preſſed the project of limitations, to which they knew the Court would never aſſent. A motion being made, to grant the firſt reading to an act of commiſſion for a treaty with England, the Duke of Hamilton, inſiſted on the limitations, and a vote being ſtated in theſe terms, "Proceed to con- "ſider the act for a treaty of limitation," the latter was carried in favour of the Cavaliers. On the twenty-ſecond day of Auguſt an act for this purpoſe was approved; and next day an act for a triennial Parliament, which the Courtiers were enabled to defeat. They likewiſe paſſed an act, ordaining, That the Scottiſh ambaſſadors repreſenting Scotland ſhould be preſent when the Sovereign might have occaſion to treat with foreign Princes and States, and be accountable to the Parliament of Scotland. Fletcher, of Saltoun, preſented a ſcheme of limitations that favoured ſtrongly of Republican principles. He afterwards enlarged upon every article, endeavouring to prove that they were abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the conſequences of Engliſh influence; to enable the nation to defend its rights and liberties: to deter Miniſters of State from giving bad advice to their Sovereign; to preſerve the Courts of Judicature from corruption, and ſcreen the people from tyranny and oppreſſion. The Earl of Stair having argued againſt theſe limitations, Fletcher replied, "It was no wonder he oppoſed the ſcheme; for, "had ſuch an act ſubſiſted, his Lordſhip would have "been hanged for the bad counſel he had given to "King James; for the concern he had in the maſ- "ſacre of Glencoe; and for his conduct ſince the "Revolution." The next ſubject on which the Parliament deliberated was the conſpiracy. A motion being made that the Houſe might know what anſwer

anſwer the Queen had returned to their addreſs in the laſt ſeſſion, the Chancellor delivered to the Clerk-Regiſter the papers relating to the plot, that they might be peruſed by the members: but theſe being copies, and the evidences remaining at London, no further progreſs was made in the affair. Yet the Duke of Athol, in a diſtinct narrative of the pretended conſpiracy, boldly accuſed the Duke of Queenſberry of having endeavoured to miſlead the Queen by falſe inſinuations againſt her good ſubjects. When the act for a treaty of union fell under conſideration, a draft for that purpoſe, preſented by the Earl of Mar, was compared with the Engliſh act, importing, That the Queen ſhould name and appoint not only the Commiſſioners for England, but likewiſe thoſe for Scotland. Fletcher did not fail to inveigh againſt the imperious conduct of the Engliſh Parliament in this affair. He exhorted the Houſe to reſent ſuch treatment, and offered the draft of an addreſs to her Majeſty on the ſubject; but this the Houſe rejected. Duke Hamilton propoſed that a clauſe might be added to the act, importing, That the union ſhould no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scottiſh nation. This occaſioned a long debate; and, the queſtion being put was carried in the negative. Another clauſe was propoſed, that the Scottiſh Commiſſioners ſhould not begin to treat until the Engliſh Parliament ſhould have reſcinded their clauſe, enacting, That the ſubjects of Scotland ſhould be adjudged and taken as aliens after the twenty-fifth day of December. The Courtiers, conſidering the temper of the Houſe, would not venture to oppoſe this motion directly, but propoſed that the clauſe ſhould be formed into a ſeparate act; and the expedient was approved. Though the Duke of Athol entered a vigorous proteſt, to which the greater part of the Cavaliers and all the Squadrone adhered, compre-

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hending four-and-twenty Peers, ſeven-and-thirty Barons, and eighteen Boroughs, the act for the treaty of union was, after much altercation, finiſhed, empowering Commiſſioners to meet and treat of an union; but reſtraining them from treating of any alterations of the Church-government as by law eſtabliſhed. While this important ſubject was under conſideration, the Duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his whole party, moved that the nomination of the Commiſſioners ſhould be left to the Queen. Fourteen or fifteen of the Cavaliers ran out of the Houſe in a tranſport of indignation, exclaiming that they were deſerted and baſely betrayed by the Duke of Hamilton. A very hot debate enſued, in the courſe of which the Duke was ſeverely handled by thoſe whom he had hitherto conducted: but, at length, the queſtion being put, Whether the nomination ſhould be left to the Queen or to the Parliament, the Duke's motion was approved by a very ſmall majority. He afterwards excuſed himſelf for his defection, by ſaying, he ſaw it was in vain to contend; and that ſince the Court had acquired a great majority, he thought he might be allowed to pay that compliment to his ſovereign. He was deſirous of being in the commiſſion, and the Duke of Argyle promiſed he ſhould be nominated. The Queen refuſing to honour him with that mark of diſtinction, Argyle would not ſuffer himſelf to be named, and threatened to oppoſe the union: but means were found to appeaſe his reſentment. Two drafts of an addreſs being preſented by the Earl of Sutherland and Fletcher of Saltoun, beſeeching her Majeſty to uſe her endeavours with the Parliament of England to reſcind that part of their Act which declared the ſubjects of Scotland aliens; and an overture of a bill being offered, ordaining that the Scottiſh Commiſſioners ſhould not enter upon the treaty of union until that clauſe ſhould be repealed; the Courtiers moved, that the Parliament ſhould proceed

proceed by way of order to their commiſſioners, and by addreſs to her Majeſty. After ſome debate, the Houſe aſſenting to this propoſal, the order and addreſs were drawn up and approved. The great and weighty affair of the treaty being at length happily tranſacted, though not without a proteſt by Athol and his adherents, the Parliament granted a ſupply of fifty thouſand pounds, and the Houſe was adjourned to the twentieth day of December: then the Queen declared the Earl of Mar ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the Marquis of Annandale, who was appointed lord-preſident of the council. CHAP. VIII. 1705.

§ XXXI. In Ireland the Parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, and voted one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. A diſpute aroſe between the Commons and the Lower Houſe of Convocation, relating to the tithes of hemp and flax, aſcertained in a clauſe of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufacturers of the kingdom. The Lower Houſe of Convocation preſented a memorial againſt this clauſe as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The Commons voted the perſon who brought it guilty of a breach of privilege: and ordered him to be taken into cuſtody. Then they reſolved, That the Convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of the privilege of that Houſe. The Convocation preſuming to juſtify their memorials, the Commons voted, That all matters relating to it ſhould be razed out of the journals and books of Convocation. The Duke of Ormond, dreading the Conſequences of ſuch heats, adjourned the Parliament to the firſt day of May, when the Houſes meeting again, came to ſome reſolutions that reflected obliquely on the Convocation, as enemies to her Majeſty's government and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The clergy, in order to acquit themſelves of all ſuſpicion, reſolved in their turn,

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That the Church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by King William at the Revolution: That the continuance of theſe bleſſings were due (under God) to the auſpicious reign and happy government of her Majeſty Queen Anne: That the future ſecurity and preſervation of the Church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the ſucceſſion of the crown as ſettled by law in the Proteſtant line: That if any Clergyman ſhould by word or writing declare any thing in oppoſition to theſe reſolutions, they ſhould look upon him as a ſower of diviſions among the Proteſtants, and an enemy to the conſtitution. They levelled another reſolution againſt the Preſbyterians, importing, That to teach or to preach againſt the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the Church, or to maintain ſchools or ſeminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed Church, was a contempt of the eccleſiaſtical laws of the kingdom: of pernicious conſequence; and ſerved only to continue and widen the unhappy ſchiſms and diviſions in the nation. In June the Parliament was prorogued to the ſame month of the following year: then the Duke of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the adminiſtration in the hands of Sir Richard Cox, lord-chancellor, and the Lord Cutts, commander in chief of the Queen's forces, who were appointed Lords-Juſtices during the Duke's abſence.

§ XXXII. During theſe tranſactions in Great-Britain and Ireland, the allies had not been remiſs in their preparations for the enſuing campaign. The Duke of Marlborough had fixed upon the Moſelle for the ſcene of action; and magazines of all ſorts were formed at Triers. On the thirteenth day of March the Duke embarked for Holland, where he prevailed upon the States-General to contribute their troops for the execution of his project. Having concerted with the deputies of the States and the Dutch

Dutch generals the neceſſary meaſures for opening the campaign, he ſet out for Maeſtricht, in order to aſſemble his army. On the fifth day of May the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was ſucceeded on the imperial throne by his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, King of the Romans, a Prince who reſembled his father in meekneſs of diſpoſition, narrowneſs of intellect, and bigotry to the Romiſh religion. On the fifteenth of June the Engliſh troops paſſed the Maeſe, and continued their march towards the Moſelle, under the command of General Churchill; and the Duke ſet out for Cruetznach, to confer with Prince Louis of Baden, who excuſed himſelf on pretence of being much indiſpoſed. Marlborough viſited him at Raſtadt, where in a conference they reſolved that a ſufficient number of German troops ſhould be left for the ſecurity of the lines of Lauterburg and Stolhofen, under the command of General Thungen, and that Prince Louis of Baden ſhould march with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the Duke of Marlborough. The confederate army paſſed the Moſelle and the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elſt in ſight of the enemy, who retired with great precipitation, and entrenched themſelves in the neighbourhood of Coningſmarcheren. The Duke's deſign was to beſiege Saar-Louis; but Prince Louis failed in the performance of his engagement: he feigned himſelf ſick, and repaired to the bath at Schlangenbade leaving the ſmall number of Imperial troops he conducted as far as Cruetznach, under the command of the Count de Frize. He was ſuſpected of treachery; but probably acted from envy of the Duke's military reputation *.

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* The Duke of Marlborough, finding himſelf obliged to retreat, ſent a note with a trumpeter to Villars, containing an apology for decamping.— "Do me the juſtice (ſaid he) to believe that my retreat is "entirely owing to the failure of the Prince of Baden; but that my "eſteem for you is ſtill greater than my reſentment of his conduct."

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§ XXXIII. While this nobleman ſuſtained ſuch a mortifying diſappointment on the Moſelle, the French did not fail to make advantage of their ſuperiority in the Netherlands, where General D'Auverquerque was obliged to ſtand on the defenſive. They inveſted Huy, and carried on their operations ſo vigorouſly, that in a few days the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war: then Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began his works before the citadel. Marlborough was no ſooner informed of the enemy's progreſs than he marched to Triers, where, in a council, it was reſolved that the army ſhould return to the Netherlands. The troops were in motion on the nineteenth of June, and marched with ſuch expedition, that they paſſed the Maeſe on the firſt day of July. Villeroy having received advice of the Duke's approach, abandoned his enterpriſe, and retired to Tongeren, from whence he retreated within his lines, that reached from Marche aux Dames on the Meuſe, along the Mehaigne, as far as Lenuive. Marlborough having joined D'Auverquerque, ſent General Scholten with a detachment to inveſt Huy, and in a few days the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. The Engliſh general reſolving to ſtrike ſome ſtroke of importance that ſhould atone for his diſappointment on the Moſelle, ſent General Hompeſch to the States, with a propoſal for attacking the French lines; and obtained their permiſſion to do whatever he ſhould think proper for the good of the common cauſe. Then he explained the ſcheme in two ſucceſſive councils of war, by which, at length, it was approved and reſolved upon, though ſome Dutch generals declared themſelves againſt the undertaking. The enemy were poſted along the lines, amounting to one hundred battalions and one hundred and forty-ſix ſquadrons. The allied army did not much exceed that number. In order to divide them, D'Auverquerque

querque made a falſe motion and paſſed the Mehaigne, as if he had intended to attack the lines about Meſſelin. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The French weakened the other parts by ſtrengthening that which was on the ſide of the Gerbiſe towards Namur. The Duke of Marlborough having made the diſpoſition, the army began to march in the night between the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of July, in order to force a paſſage of the French lines at Heyleſem, the caſtle of Wauge, and the villages of Wauge, Neerheſpen, and Ooſtmalen. Theſe poſts were taken with very little difficulty; but before the infantry could come up, the enemy advanced with fifty ſquadrons and twenty battalions, and began to fire from eight pieces of cannon with tripple barrels, which did conſiderable execution. The Duke perceiving that they were continually reinforced from the other parts of the lines, ordered the horſe to charge their cavalry, which were ſoon broken and routed; but rallying behind their infantry, interlined with foot, and joined by freſh ſquadrons, they advanced again towards the allies, who were now ſuſtained by their infantry, and moved forwards to renew the charge. After a warm, though ſhort engagement, the enemy's horſe were defeated with great ſlaughter. The infantry, ſeeing themſelves abandoned in the plain, retreated in great diſorder, between the villages of Heyleſem and Golſteven, where they were joined by the reſt of their army, and formed again in order of battle. Meanwhile the Duke of Marlborough ordered all his troops to enter the lines: and extended his right towards the great Geete before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Montluc, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. In this action the confederates took the Marquis D'Alegre and the Count de Horne, lieutenant generals, one major-general, two brigadier generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common ſoldiers; a large

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heap of ſtandards, four colours, one pair of kettle-drums, and ten pieces of cannon. In the action, as the Duke of Marlborough advanced to the charge at the head of ſeveral ſquadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him ſword in hand; but in raiſing himſelf on his ſtirrups to ſtrike with the greater advantage, he fell from his horſe, and was immediately ſlain.

§ XXXIV. The body of troops commanded by Monſieur D'Alegre being thus defeated with little or no loſs to the confederates, the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareſchal de Villeroy paſſed the Grert Geete and the Deule, with great expedition, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Parck, their left extending to Rooſelaer, and their right to Wineſelen againſt the height of Louvain. Next day the Duke of Marlborough marching through the plain of Parck, took twelve hundred priſoners, who could not keep pace with the reſt of the enemy's forces; and in the evening he encamped with the right at the abbey of Vlierſbech, and the left before Bierbeck, under the cannon of Louvain. He detached Lieutenant-General Henkelum, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and Count Oxienſtiern, with a conſiderable body of forces, to attack ſome poſts on the Deule, which were ſlenderly guarded. Their advanced guard accordingly paſſed the river, and repulſed the enemy; but, for want of timely ſupport, they were obliged to paſs it and retire. On the third of Auguſt Baron Spaar, with a body of Dutch troops, marched to Raboth on the canal of Bruges, forced the French lines at Lovendegen, and took four forts by which they were defended; but receiving advice that the enemy were on their march towards him, he retired to Mildegem, and carried with them ſeveral hoſtages, as ſecurity for the payment of the contributions he had raiſed. On the fifteenth the Duke moved from Mildert to Corbais; next day continued his march to Genap, from

from whence he advanced to Fiſchermont. On the ſeventeenth General D'Auverquerque took the poſt of Waterlo; and next day the confederate army was drawn up in order of battle before the enemy, who extended from Overyſche, near the wood of Soignies, to Neeryſche, with the little river Yſche in their front, ſo as to cover Bruſſels and Louvain. The Duke of Marlborough propoſed to attack them immediately, before they ſhould recollect themſelves from their conſternation; and D'Auverquerque approved of the deſign: but it was oppoſed by General Schlangenburg, and other Dutch officers, who repreſented it in ſuch a light to the deputies of the State, that they refuſed to concur in the execution. The Duke being obliged to relinquiſh the ſcheme, wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the States-General, complaining of their having withdrawn that confidence which they had repoſed in him while he acted in Germany. This letter being publiſhed at the Hague, excited murmurs among the people, and the Engliſh nation were incenſed at the preſumption of the Deputies, who wrote ſeveral letters in their own juſtification to the States-General; but theſe had no effect upon the populace, by whom the Duke was reſpected even to a degree of adoration. The States being appriſed of the reſentment that prevailed over all England, and that the Earl of Pembroke, lord-preſident of the council, was appointed as envoy extraordinary to Holland, with inſtructions to demand ſatisfaction, thought proper to anticipate his journey, by making ſubmiſſions to the Duke, and removing Schlangenburg from his command. The confederate army returned to Corbais, from whence it marched to Perwitz, where it encamped. The little town of Sout-Leeuwe, ſituated in the middle of a moraſs, and conſtituting the chief defence of the enemy's lines, being taken by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant-General Dedem, the Duke ordered the

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the lines from this place to Waſſeigne to be levelled, and the town of Tirlemont to be diſmantled; then paſſing the Demer, he encamped on the nineteenth day of September at Aerſchot. About the latter end of the month he marched to Heventhals; from hence the Duke repaired to the Hague, where he had ſeveral conferences with the Penſionary. In a few days he returned to the army, which decamping from Heventhals, marched to Clampthout. On the twenty-fourth day of October, the Count de Noyelles inveſted Santvliet, which ſurrendered before the end of the month.

§ XXXV. At this period the Duke, in conſequence of preſſing letters from the Emperor, ſet out for Vienna, in order to concert the operations of the enſuing campaign, and other meaſures of importance, in which the concerns of the allies were intereſted. In his way he was magnificently entertained by the Elector Palatine, and him of Triers, and complimented by the magiſtracy of Francfort, where he conferred with Prince Louis of Baden. On the twelfth of November he arrived at Vienna, where he was treated with the higheſt marks of diſtinction and cordial friendſhip by their Imperial Majeſties. His ſon-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, had been ſent thither as Envoy-Extraordinary; and now they conferred together with the Emperor and his miniſters. They reſolved to maintain the war with redoubled vigour. The treaties were renewed, and proviſion made for the ſecurity of the Duke of Savoy. The Emperor, in conſideration of the Duke's ſignal ſervice to the Houſe of Auſtria, preſented him with a grant of the lordſhip of Mindelheim in Suabia, which was now erected into a principality of the Roman Empire. In his return with the Earl of Sunderland he viſited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, where he was received with that extraordinary reſpect which was due to his character; and arrived at the Hague on the fourteenth day of December.

cember. There he ſettled the operations of the next campaign with the States-General, who conſented to join England in maintaining an additional body of ten thouſand men, as a reinforcement to the army of Prince Eugene in Italy. While the allies were engaged in the ſiege of Santvliet, the Elector of Bavaria ſent a detachment, under the command of Don Marcello de Grimaldi, to inveſt Dieſt, the garriſon of which were made priſoners of war. CHAP. VIII. 1705.

§ XXXVI. On the Upper Rhine Mareſchal Villars beſieged and took Homburgh, and paſſed the Rhine at Straſburgh on the ſixth day of Auguſt. Prince Louis of Baden arriving in the camp of the Imperialiſts at Stolhoffen, not only obliged him to retire, but having paſſed the river, forced the French lines at Hagenau: then he reduced Druſenheim and Hagenau, but attempted no enterprize equal to the number of his army, although the Emperor had expoſtulated with him ſeverely on his conduct, and he had now a fair opportunity of emulating the glory of Marlborough, upon whom he looked with the eyes of an envious rival. In Italy a battle was fought at Caſano, between Prince Eugene and the Duke de Vendome, with dubious ſucceſs. The Duke de Feuillade reduced Chivas, and inveſted Nice, which, after an obſtinate defence, ſurrendered in December. All the conſiderable places belonging to the Duke of Savoy were now taken, except Coni and Turin; and his little army was reduced to twelve thouſand men, whom he could hardly ſupport. His Ducheſs, his clergy, and his ſubjects in general, preſſed him to ſubmit to the neceſſity of his affairs: but he adhered to the alliance with ſurprizing fortitude. He withſtood the importunities of his Ducheſs, excluded all the biſhops and clergy from his councils; and when he had occaſion for a confeſſor, choſe a prieſt occaſionally, either from the Dominicans or Franciſcans. The campaign in Portugal began with a very promiſing aſpect. The allies

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come as ſavage in his manners, as brutal in his revenge. CHAP. VIII.

§ XXXVII. At ſea the arms of the allies were generally proſperous. Philip of Spain being obſtinately bent upon retaking Gibraltar, ſent Mareſchal de Theſſé to renew the ſiege, while De Pointis was ordered to block up the place by ſea with his ſquadron. Theſe French officers carried on the ſiege with ſuch activity, that the Prince of Heſſe diſpatched an expreſs to Liſbon with a letter, deſiring Sir John Leake to ſail immediately to his aſſiſtance. This Admiral having been reinforced from England by Sir Thomas Dilkes, with five ſhips of the line and a body of troops, ſet ſail immediately; and on the tenth day of March deſcried five ſhips of war hauling out of the bay of Gibraltar. Theſe were commanded by De Pointis in perſon, to whom the Engliſh Admiral gave chaſe. One of them ſtruck, after having made a very ſlight reſiſtance; and the reſt ran aſhore to the weſtward of Marbella, where they were deſtroyed. The remaining part of the French ſquadron had been blown from their anchors, and taken ſhelter in the bay of Malaga: but now they ſlipped their cables, and made the beſt of their way to Toulon. The Mareſchal de Theſſé, in conſequence of this diſaſter, turned the ſiege of Gibraltar into a blockade, and withdrew the greater part of his forces. While Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byng, who had been ordered to cruize in ſoundings for the protection of trade, took a ſhip of forty guns from the enemy, together with twelve privateers, and ſeven veſſels richly laden from the Weſt-Indies. 1705.

§ XXXVIII. But the moſt eminent atchievement of this ſummer, was the reduction of Barcelona, by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who ſailed from St. Helen's in the latter end of May with the Engliſh fleet, having on board a body of five thouſand land forces; and on the

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twentieth of June arrived at Liſbon; where they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch Admiral, Allemonde. In a council of war, they determined to put to ſea with eight-and-forty ſhips of the line, which ſhould be ſtationed between Cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Breſt ſquadrons. The Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt arriving from Gibraltar, aſſured King Charles, that the province of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his intereſt; and his Majeſty being weary of Portugal, reſolved to accompany the Earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board of the Ranelagh; and the fleet ſailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the Earl of Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of Engliſh dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the Engliſh guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raiſed battalions. On the eleventh day of Auguſt they anchored in the bay of Altea, where the Earl of Peterborough publiſhed a manifeſto in the Spaniſh language, which had ſuch an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged King Charles as their lawful Sovereign. They ſeized the town of Denia for his ſervice; and he ſent thither a garriſon of four hundred men under the command of Major-General Ramos. On the twenty-ſecond they arrived in the bay of Barcelona: the troops were diſembarked to the eaſtward of the city, where they encamped in a ſtrong ſituation, and were well received by the country people. King Charles landed amidſt the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themſelves at his feet, exclaiming, "Long live the King!" and exhibited all the marks of the moſt extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the Houſe of Auſtria, but over-awed by a garriſon of five thouſand men under

the Duke de Popoli, Velaſco, and other officers de- CHAP. VIII. 1705.
voted to the intereſt of King Philip. Conſidering the ſtrength of ſuch a garriſon, and the ſmall number of Dutch and Engliſh troops, nothing could appear more deſperate and dangerous than the deſign of beſieging the place: yet this was propoſed by the Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, who ſerved in the expedition as a volunteer, ſtrongly urged by King Charles, and approved by the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. The city was accordingly inveſted on one ſide: but, as a previous ſtep to the reduction of it, they reſolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, ſtrongly ſituated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by ſtorm, with the loſs of the gallant Prince of Heſſe, who was ſhot through the body, and expired in a few hours: then the Earl of Peterborough began to bombard the body of the fort; and a ſhell chancing to fall into the magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the governor and ſome of the beſt officers: an accident which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the garriſon, that they ſurrendered without further reſiſtance.

§ XXXIX. This great point being gained, the Engliſh General erected his batteries againſt the town, with the help of the Miquelets and ſeamen: the bomb-ketches began to fire with ſuch execution, that in a few days the Governor capitulated, and on the fourth Day of October King Charles entered in triumph *. All the other places in Catalonia declared

* Voltaire, upon what authority we know not, tells us, that during the capitulation, the German and Catalonian troops found means to climb over the ramparts into the city, and began to commit the moſt barbarous exceſſes; the Viceroy complained to Peterborough that his ſoldiers had taken an unfair advantage of the treaty, and were actually employed in burning, plundering, murthering, and violating the inhabitants. The Earl replied, "They muſt then be the troops of the Prince of Heſſe; allow me to enter the city with my Engliſh forces, I will ſave it from ruin; oblige the Germans to retire, and march back again to our preſent ſituation." The Viceroy truſted his honour, and forthwith admitted

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clared for him, except Roſes; ſo that the largeſt and richeſt province of Spain was conquered with an army ſcarce double the number of the garriſon of Barcelona. King Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to the Queen of England, containing a circumſtantial detail of his affairs, the warmeſt expreſſions of acknowledgement, and the higheſt encomiums on her ſubjects, particularly the Earl of Peterborough. In a council of war it was determined that the King and the Earl ſhould continue in Catalonia with the land forces: that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſhould return to England: that five-and-twenty Engliſh and fifteen Dutch ſhips of war ſhould winter at Liſbon, under the command of Sir John Leake and the Dutch Rear-Admiral, Waſſenaer; and that four Engliſh and two Dutch frigates ſhould remain at Barcelona. Don Franciſco de Velaſco was tranſported to Malaga with about a thouſand men of his garriſon: the reſt voluntarily engaged in the ſervice of King Charles, and ſix other regiments were raiſed by the ſtates of Catalonia. The Count de Ciſuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans attached to the Houſe of Auſtria, ſecured Tarragonia, Tortoſa, Lerida, San-Mattheo, Gironne, and other places. Don Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horſe, joined General Ramos at Denia, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places of importance in the kingdom of Valencia. Fluſhed with ſuch unexpected ſucceſs they penetrated to the capital of the ſame name, which they ſurprized, together with the Marquis de Villa-Garcia, the Viceroy, and the Archbiſhop.

mitted the Earl with his troops. He ſoon drove out the Germans and Catalonians, after having obliged them to quit the plunder they had taken; and by accident he reſcued the Ducheſs of Populi from the hands of two brutal ſoldiers, and delivered her to her huſband. Having thus appeaſed the tumult and diſpelled the horrors of the citizens, he returned to his former ſtation, leaving the inhabitants of Barcelona amazed at ſuch an inſtance of magnanimity and moderation in a people whom they had been taught to conſider as the moſt ſavage barbarians.

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Theſe advantages, however, were not properly improved. The court of Charles was divided into factions, and ſo much time loſt in diſputes, that the enemy ſent a body of ſix thouſand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de las Torres, who forthwith inveſted San-Mattheo, guarded by Colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great conſequence, on account of its ſituation, the Earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thouſand infantry, and two hundred dragoons; and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that General to abandon the ſiege with precipitation, in the apprehenſion of being ſuddenly attacked by a conſiderable army. Peterborough afterwards took poſſeſſion of Nules, and purchaſing horſes at Caſtillon de la Plana began to form a body of cavalry, which did good ſervice in the ſequel. Having aſſembled a little army, conſiſting of ten ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, and four battalions of regular troops, with about three thouſand militia, he marched to Molviedro, which was ſurrendered to him by the Governor, Brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the Duke d'Arcos, the Spaniſh General, he excited ſuch jealouſies by dint of artifices not altogether juſtifiable even in war, that the Duke was more intent upon avoiding the ſuppoſed treachery of Mahoni than upon interrupting the Earl's march to Valencia, where the inhabitants expreſſed uncommon marks of joy at his arrival. About this period a very obſtinate action happened at St. Iſtevan de Litera, where the Chevalier D'Asfeldt, with nine ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, and as many battalions of French infantry, attacked Colonel Wills at the head of a ſmall detachment: but this laſt being ſupported by Lieutenant-General Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, repulſed the enemy, though three times his number, with the loſs of four

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for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and granted the ſupplies without heſitation. In the Houſe of Lords while the Queen was preſent, Lord Haverſham, at the end of a long ſpeech, in which he reflected upon the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, both on the Moſelle and in Brabant moved for an addreſs to deſire her Majeſty would invite the preſumptive heir to the Crown of England to come and reſide in the kingdom. This motion was earneſtly ſupported by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rocheſter, Nottingham, and Angleſea. They ſaid there was no method ſo effectual to ſecure the ſucceſſion, as that of the ſucceſſor's being upon the ſpot, ready to aſſume and maintain his or her right againſt any pretender; and they obſerved, that in former times, when the throne of England was vacant, the firſt comer had always ſucceeded in his pretenſions. The propoſal was vehemently oppoſed by the Whigs, who knew it was diſagreeable to the Queen, whom they would not venture to diſoblige. They argued, that a rivalry between the two courts might produce diſtractions, and be attended with very ill conſequences, and obſerved, that the Princeſs Sophia had expreſſed a full ſatisfaction in the aſſurances of the Queen, who had promiſed to maintain her title. The queſtion being put, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The deſign of the Tories in making this motion was to bring the other party into diſgrace either with the Queen or with the people. Their joining in the meaſure would have given umbrage to their Sovereign; and, by oppoſing it, they ran the riſque of incurring the publick odium, as enemies to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion: but the pretence of the Tories was ſo thin, the nation ſaw through it: and the ſole effect the motion produced, was the Queen's reſentment againſt the whole party. Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum, propoſed that proviſion might be made for maintaining the publick quiet, in the interval between the Queen's deceaſe, and the arrival of her ſucceſſor:

ſucceſſor: the motion was ſeconded by the Lord-Treaſurer; and a bill brought in for the better ſecurity of her Majeſty's perſon and government, and of the ſucceſſion to the crown of England. By this act a Regency was appointed of the ſeven perſons that ſhould poſſeſs the offices of Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor or Lord-Keeper, Lord-Treaſurer, Lord-Preſident, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord High-Admiral, and the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench. Their buſineſs was to proclaim the next ſucceſſor through the kingdom of England, and join with a certain number of perſons named as Regents by the ſucceſſor, in three liſts to be ſealed up and depoſited with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord-Keeper, and the Miniſtry Reſidentiary of Hanover. It was enacted, That theſe joint Regencies ſhould conduct the Adminiſtration: that the laſt Parliament, even though diſſolved, ſhould reaſſemble, and continue ſitting for ſix months after the deceaſe of her Majeſty. The bill met with a warm oppoſition from the Tories, and did not paſs the Upper Houſe without a proteſt. It was ſtill further obſtructed in the Houſe of Commons even by ſome of the Whig party, who were given to underſtand that the Princeſs Sophia had expreſſed an inclination to reſide in England. Exceptions were likewiſe taken to that clauſe in the bill, enacting, that the laſt Parliament ſhould be re-aſſembled. They affirmed, that this was inconſiſtent with part of the act by which the ſucceſſion was at firſt ſettled; for, among other limitations, the Parliament had provided, that when the Crown ſhould devolve to the Houſe of Hanover, no man, who had either place or penſion ſhould be capable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons. After tedious diſputes and zealous altercations, they agreed that a certain number of offices ſhould be ſpecified as diſqualifying places. This ſelf-denying clauſe, and ſome other amendments, produced conferences between the two Houſes,

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and at length the bill paſſed by their mutual aſſent. Lord Haverſham moved for an enquiry into the miſcarriages of the laſt campaign, hoping to find ſome foundation for cenſure in the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough; but the propoſal was rejected as invidious; and the two Houſes preſented an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring ſhe would preſerve a good correſpondence among all the confederates. They likewiſe concurred in repealing the act by which the Scots had been alienated, and all the northern counties alarmed with the apprehenſion of a rupture between the two nations. The Lord Shannon and Brigadier Stanhope arriving with an account of the expedition to Catalonia, the Queen communicated the good news in a ſpeech to both Houſes, expreſſing her hope that they would enable her to proſecute the advantages which her arms had acquired. The Commons were ſo well pleaſed with the tidings, that they forthwith granted two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for her Majeſty's proportion in the expence of proſecuting the ſucceſſes already gained by King Charles III. for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the Houſe of Auſtria. On the fifteenth day of November, the Queen gave the Royal aſſent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the Princeſs Sophia, and the iſſue of her body.

§ XLII. Theſe meaſures being taken, the ſixth day of December was appointed for enquiring into thoſe dangers to which the Tories affirmed the Church was expoſed; and the Queen attended in perſon, to hear the debates on this intereſting ſubject. The Earl of Rocheſter compared the expreſſions in the Queen's ſpeech at the beginning of the ſeſſion to the law enacted in the reign of Charles II. denouncing the penalties of treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould call the King a Papiſt: for which reaſon, he ſaid, he always thought him of that perſuaſion. He affirmed that the Churchs's danger aroſe from the Act

of

of ſecurity in Scotland, the abſence of the Succeſſor to the Crown, and the practice of occaſional conformity. He was anſwered by Lord Hallifax, who, by way of recrimination, obſerved that King Charles II. was a Roman-catholick, at leaſt his brother declared him a Papiſt after his death: that his brother and ſucceſſor was a known Roman-catholick, yet the Church thought herſelf ſecure; and thoſe patriots who ſtood up in its defence were diſcountenanced and puniſhed: nay, when the Succeſſor aſcended the throne, and the Church was apparently in the moſt imminent danger, by the High-commiſſion Court and otherwiſe, the nation was then indeed generally alarmed; and every body knew who ſat in that court, and entered deeply into the meaſures which were then purſued. Compton, Biſhop of London, declared that the Church was in danger, from profaneneſs, irreligion, and the licentiouſneſs of the preſs. He complained, that ſermons were preached wherein rebellion was countenanced, and reſiſtance to the higher powers encouraged. He alluded to a ſermon preached before the Lord Mayor, by Mr. Hoadly, now biſhop of Wincheſter. Burnet of Sarum ſaid the Biſhop of London was the laſt man who ought to complain of that ſermon; for if the doctrine it contained was not good, he did not know what defence his Lordſhip could make for his appearing in arms at Nottingham. He affirmed the Church would be always ſubject to profaneneſs and irreligion, but that they were not now ſo flagrant as they uſually had been: he ſaid the ſociety ſet up for reformation in London, and other cities, had contributed conſiderably to the ſuppreſſion of vice: he was ſure the corporation for propagating the Goſpel had done a great deal towards inſtructing men in religion, by giving great numbers of books in practical divinity; by erecting libraries in country pariſhes; by ſending many able divines to the foreign plantations, and founding ſchools to breed up children in the Chriſ-

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tian knowledge; though to this expence very little had been contributed by thoſe who appeared ſo wonderfully zealous for the Church. The Archbiſhop of York expreſſed his apprehenſion of danger from the increaſe of Diſſenters; particularly from the many academies they had inſtituted: he moved, that the Judges might be conſulted with reſpect to the laws that were in force againſt ſuch ſeminaries, and by what means they might be ſuppreſſed. Lord Wharton moved, that the Judges might alſo be conſulted about means of ſuppreſſing ſchools and ſeminaries held by Nonjurors; in one of which the ſons of a noble Lord in that Houſe had been educated. To this ſarcaſm the Archbiſhop replied, that his ſons were indeed taught by Mr. Ellis, a ſober, virtuous man; but that when he refuſed the oath of abjuration, they were immediately withdrawn from his inſtructions. Lord Wharton proceeded to declare, that he had carefully peruſed a pamphlet entitled "The Memorial," which was ſaid to contain a demonſtration that the Church was in danger: but all he could learn was, that the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham, were out of place: that he remembered ſome of theſe noblemen ſat in the High-commiſſion Court, and then made no complaint of the Church's being in danger. Patrick, Biſhop of Ely, complained of the heat and paſſion manifeſted by the gentlemen belonging to the Univerſities, and of the undutiful behaviour of the Clergy towards their biſhops. He was ſeconded by Hough of Litchfield and Coventry, who added, that the inferior Clergy calumniated their Biſhops, as if they were in a plot to deſtroy the Church, and had compounded to be the laſt of their order. Hooper of Bath and Wells expatiated on the inviduous diſtinction implied in the terms "High Church," and "Low Church." The Duke of Leeds aſſerted, that the Church could not be ſafe, without an act againſt occaſional conformity. Lord Somers recapitulated

pitulated all the arguments which had been uſed on both ſides of the queſtion: he declared his own opinion was, that the nation was happy under a wiſe and juſt adminiſtration: that for men to raiſe groundleſs jealouſies at that juncture, could mean no leſs than an intention to embroil the people at home, and defeat the glorious deſigns of the allies abroad. The debate being finiſhed, the queſtion was put, Whether the Church of England was in danger, and carried in the negative by a great majority: then the Houſe reſolved, That the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed, which was reſcued from the extremeſt danger by King William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's bleſſing, under the happy reign of her Majeſty, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing condition; and that whoever goes about to ſuggeſt or inſinuate that the Church is in danger, under her Majeſty's adminiſtration, is an enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the Kingdom. Next day the Commons concurred in this determination, and joined the Lords in an addreſs to the Queen, communicating this reſolution, beſeeching her to take effectual meaſures for making it publick; and alſo for puniſhing the authors and ſpreaders of the ſeditious and ſcandalous reports of the Church's being in danger. She accordingly iſſued a proclamation, containing the reſolution of the two Houſes, and offering a reward for diſcovering the author of the Memorial of the Church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, a profeſſed Papiſt, charged upon oath to be the printer and publiſher of that libel.

§ XLIII. After a ſhort adjournment, a committee of the Lower Houſe preſented the thanks of the Commons to the Duke of Marlborough, for his great ſervices performed to her Majeſty and the Nation in the laſt campaign, and for his prudent negociations with her allies. This nobleman was in ſuch credit with the people, that when he propoſed a loan

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of five hundred thouſand pounds to the Emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Sileſia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was bleſſed with plenty: the Queen was univerſally beloved: the people in general were zealous for the proſecution of the war: the forces were well paid: the treaſury was punctual; and, though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper-currency ſupplied the deficiency ſo well, that no murmurs were heard, and the publick credit flouriſhed both at home and abroad. All the funds being eſtabliſhed, one in particular for two millions and a half by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at ſix and a half per cent, and all the bills having received the Royal aſſent, the Queen went to the Houſe of Peers on the nineteenth day of March, where, having thanked both Houſes for the repeated inſtances of their affection which ſhe had received, ſhe prorogued the Parliament to the twenty-firſt day of May following*. The new Convocation, inſtead of imitating the union and harmony of the Parliament, revived the diviſions by which the former had been diſtracted, and the two Houſes ſeemed to act with more determined rancour againſt each other. The Upper Houſe having drawn up a warm addreſs of thanks to the Queen, for her affectionate care of the Church, the Lower Houſe refuſed to concur; nor would they give any reaſon for their diſſent. They prepared another in a different ſtrain, which was rejected by the Archbiſhop. Then they agreed to divers reſolutions, aſſerting their right of having what they offered to the upper Houſe received by his Grace and their Lordſhips. In conſequence of this diſſention the addreſs was dropped, and a ſtop put to all further communication between the two Houſes. The

Burnet. Boyer. Lockhart. Quincy. Hiſt. of Europe. Feuquieres Tindal. Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough.

* Among other Bills paſſed during this ſeſſion, was an act for abridging and reforming ſome proceedings in the Common Law and in Chancery.

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Dean of Peterborough proteſted againſt the irregularities of the Lower Houſe. The Queen, in a letter to the Archbiſhop, ſignified her reſolution to maintain her ſupremacy, and the due ſubordination of Preſbyters to Biſhops. She expreſſed her hope that he and his ſuffragans would act conformably to her reſolution, in which caſe they might be aſſured of the continuance of her favour and protection: ſhe required him to impart this declaration to the Biſhops and Clergy, and to prorogue the Convocation to ſuch time as ſhould appear moſt convenient. When he communicated this letter to the Lower Houſe, the members were not a little confounded: nevertheleſs, they would not comply with the prorogation, but continued to ſit, in defiance of her Majeſty's pleaſure.

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§ XLIV. The eyes of Great-Britain were now turned upon a tranſaction of the utmoſt conſequence to the whole iſland; namely, the treaty for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The Queen having appointed the Commiſſioners * on

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* The Engliſh Commiſſioners were, Thomas Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; William Cowper, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal; John Lord Archbiſhop of York; Sidney Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Preſident of the Council; John Duke of Newcaſtle, Keeper of the Privy Seal; William Duke of Devonſhire, Steward of the Houſehold; Charles Duke of Somerſet, Maſter of the Horſe; Charles Duke of Bolton, Charles Earl of Sunderland, Evelyn Earl of Kingſton, Charles Earl of Carliſle, Edward Earl of Oxford, Charles Viſcount Townſhend, Thomas Lord Wharton, Ralph Lord Grey, John Lord Powlet, John Lord Somers, Charles Lord Hallifax, William Cavendiſh Marquis of Hartington, John Manners Marquis of Granby; Sir Charles Hedges and Robert Harley, Principal Secretaries of State; John Smith; Henry Boyle, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Holt, Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench; Sir Thomas Trevor, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir Edward Northey, Attorney General; Sir Simon Harcourt, Solicitor General; Sir John Cook; and Stephen Waller, Doctor of Laws.——The Scottiſh Commiſſioners were, James Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor of Scotland; James Duke of Queenſberry, Lord Privy Seal; John Earl of Mar, and Hugh Earl of London, Principal Secretaries of State; John Earl of Sutherland, John Earl Morton, David Earl of Wemys, David Earl of Leven, John Earl of Stair, Archibald Earl of Roſeberry, David

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on both ſides, they met on the ſixteenth day of April, in the council-chamber of the Cockpit near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for the conferences. Their commiſſions being opened and read by the reſpective ſecretaries, and introductory ſpeeches being pronounced by the Lord-Keeper of England, and the Lord-Chancellor of of Scotland, they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, That all the propoſals ſhould be made in writing: and every point, when agreed, reduced to writing: That no points ſhould be obligatory, till all matters ſhould be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as would be proper to be laid before the Queen and the two Parliaments for their approbation: That a committee ſhould be appointed from each commiſſion, to reviſe the minutes of what might paſs, before they ſhould be inſerted in the books by the reſpective ſecretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty ſhould be kept ſecret. The Scots were inclined to a fœderal union, like that of the united provinces; but the Engliſh were bent upon an incorporation, ſo as that no Scottiſh Parliament ſhould ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The Lord-Keeper propoſed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhould be for ever united into one realm, by the name of Great-Britain: That it ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame Parliament; and, That the ſucceſſion of this monarchy, failing heirs of her Majeſty's body, ſhould be according to the limitations mentioned in the act of Parliament paſſed in

David Earl of Glaſgow, Lord Archibald Campbell, Thomas Viſcount Duplin, Lord William Roſs, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Preſident of the Seſſion; Adam Cockburn, of Ormiſtoun, Lord Juſtice-clerk; Sir Robert Dundas, of Arniſtoun, Robert Stuart of Tillicultrie, Lords of the Seſſion; Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; Sir David Dalrymple, one of her Majeſty's Solicitors; Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Receiver General; Sir Patrick Johnſton, Provoſt of Edinburgh; Sir James Smollet, of Bonhill; George Lockhart, of Corowath; William Morriſon, of Petgongrange; Alexander Grant; William Seton of Pitmidden, John Clerk of Pennycook, Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Stuart, and Daniel Campbell.

the

the reign of King William, intituled, An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and the better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject. The Scottiſh Commiſſioners, in order to comply in ſome meaſure with the popular clamour of their nation, preſented a propoſal, implying that the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Scotland ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon the ſame perſons mentioned in the act of King William's reign: That the ſubjects of Scotland: ſhould for ever enjoy all the rights and privileges of the natives in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and, That the ſubjects of England ſhould enjoy the like rights and privileges in Scotland: That there ſhould be a free communication and intercourſe of trade and navigation between the two kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, contrary to the terms of this union, ſhould be repealed. The Engliſh Commiſſioners declined entering into any conſiderations upon theſe propoſals, declaring themſelves fully convinced that nothing but an entire union could ſettle a perfect and laſting friendſhip between the two kingdoms. The Scots acquieſced in this reply, and both ſides proceeded in the treaty, without any other intervening diſpute. They were twice viſited by the Queen, who exhorted them to accelerate the articles of a treaty that would prove ſo advantageous to both kingdoms. At length they were finiſhed, arranged, and mutually ſigned, on the twenty-ſecond of July, and next day preſented to her Majeſty, at the palace of St. James's, by the Lord Keeper, in the name of the Engliſh Commiſſioners: at the ſame time a ſealed copy of the inſtrument was likewiſe delivered by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland: and each made a ſhort oration on the ſubject, to which the Queen returned a very gracious reply. That ſame day ſhe dictated an order of Council, that whoever ſhould be concerned in any diſcourſe or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union

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BOOK I. union, ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour of the law.

1706. § XLV. In this famous treaty it was ſtipulated That the ſucceſſion to the united kingdom of Great-Britain ſhould be veſted in the Princeſs Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already paſſed in the Parliament of England: That the united kingdom ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame Parliament: That all the ſubjects of Great-Britain ſhould enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages: That they ſhould have the ſame allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks; and be under the ſame prohibitions, reſtrictions, and regulations, with reſpect to commerce and cuſtoms: That Scotland ſhould not be charged with the temporary duties on ſome certain commodities: That the ſum of three hundred, ninety-eight thouſand and eighty-five pounds, ten ſhillings, ſhould be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for ſuch parts of the cuſtoms and exciſe charged upon that kingdom, in conſequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the cuſtoms and exciſe of Scotland bore to thoſe of England: That, as the revenues of Scotland might increaſe, a further equivalent ſhould be allowed for ſuch proportion of the ſaid increaſe, as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: That the ſum to be paid at preſent, as well as the monies ariſing from the future equivalents, ſhould be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of the Engliſh coin; in paying off the capital ſtock and intereſt due to the proprietors of the African company, which ſhould be immediately diſſolved; in diſcharging all the publick debts of the kingdom of Scotland; in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fiſheries, under the direction of commiſſioners to be appointed by her Majeſty, and accountable to the Parliament of Great-Britain: That the laws concerning

cerning publick right, policy, and civil government, ſhould be the ſame throughout the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration ſhould be made in laws which concerned private right, except for evident utility of the ſubjects within Scotland; That the Court of Seſſion, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, ſhould remain as then conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the ſame authority and privileges as before the union; ſubject, nevertheleſs, to ſuch regulations as ſhould be made by the Parliament of Great-Britain: That all heritable offices, ſuperiorities, heritable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, ſhould be reſerved to the owners, as rights and property, in the ſame manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland: That the rights and privileges of the Royal Boroughs in Scotland ſhould remain entire after the union: That Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the Parliament of Great-Britain by ſixteen Peers and forty-five Commoners, to be elected in ſuch a manner as ſhould be ſettled by the preſent Parliament of Scotland: That all Peers of Scotland, and the Succeſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhould, from and after the union, be Peers of Great-Britain, and ſhould have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Engliſh Peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union; and before all Peers of Great-Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union: That they ſhould be tried as Peers of Great-Britain, and enjoy all privileges of Peers, as fully as enjoyed by the Peers of England, except the right and privilege of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of ſitting upon the trials of Peers: That the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of ſtate, the records of Parliament, and all other records, rolls, and regiſters whatſoever, ſhould ſtill remain as they were, within

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within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland: That all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they might be conſiſtent with the terms of theſe articles, ſhould ceaſe and be declared void by the reſpective Parliaments of the two kingdoms.—Such is the Subſtance of that treaty of union which was ſo eagerly courted by the Engliſh miniſtry, and proved ſo unpalatable to the generality of the Scottiſh nation.

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§ I. WHILE this treaty was on the carpet at home, the allied arms proſpered ſurpriſingly in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Piedmont. The French King had reſolved to make very conſiderable efforts in theſe countries; and, indeed, at the beginning of the campaign his armies were very formidable. He hoped that, by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona, the war would be extinguiſhed in Italy and Catalonia. He knew that he could outnumber any body of forces that Prince Louis of Baden ſhould aſſemble on the Rhine; and he reſolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, ſo as to be in a condition to act offenſively againſt the Duke of Marlborough. This nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter end of April; and conferred with the States-General. Then he aſſembled the army between Borſchloen and Groes-Waren, and found it amounted to ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, well furniſhed with artillery and pontoons. The court of France having received intelligence

intelligence that the Daniſh and Pruſſian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareſchal de Villeroy to attack them before the junction could be effected. In purſuance of this order they paſſed the Deule on the nineteenth day of May, and poſted themſelves at Tirlemont, being ſuperior in number to the allied army. There they were joined by the horſe of the army, commanded by Mareſchal Marſin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. On Whitſunday, early in the morning, the Duke of Marlborough advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes; and he learned that the enemy were in march to give him battle. Next day the French generals perceiving the confederates ſo near them, took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp, the right extending to the Tomb of Hautemont, on the ſide of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk; and the village of Ramillies being near their centre. The confederate army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yauſe, and the left by the village of Franquenies, which the enemy had occupied. The Duke ordered Lieutenant-General Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to begin the action, by attacking Ramillies, which was ſtrongly fortified with artillery. At the ſame time Velt-Mareſchal D'Auverquerque, on the left commanded Colonel Wertmuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to diſlodge the enemy's infantry poſted among the hedges of Franquenies. Both theſe orders were ſucceſsfully executed. The Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing charged with great vigour and intrepidity, but were ſo roughly handled by the troops of the French King's houſehold, that they began to give way, when the Duke of Marlborough ſuſtained them with the body of reſerve, and twenty ſquadrons drawn from the right, where

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a moraſs prevented them from acting. In the mean time, he in perſon rallied ſome of the broken ſquadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his own horſe falling, he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and muſt have been either killed or taken priſoner, had not a body of infantry come ſeaſonably to his relief. When he remounted his horſe, the head of Col. Brienfield, his gentleman of the horſe, was carried off by a cannon-ball while he held the Duke's ſtirrup. Before the reinforcement arrived, the beſt part of the French mouſquetaires were cut in pieces. All the troops poſted in Ramillies were either killed or taken. The reſt of the enemy's infantry begin to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on their left wing, which formed themſelves in three lines between Oſſuz and Anderkirk: but the Engliſh horſe having found means to paſs the rivulet which divided them from the enemy, fell upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly ſlaughtered in the village of Anderkirk. They now gave way on all ſides. The horſe fled three different ways: but were ſo cloſely purſued, that very few eſcaped. The Elector of Bavaria, and the Mareſchal de Villeroy ſaved themſelves with the utmoſt difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's van-guard breaking down in a narrow paſs, obſtructed the way in ſuch a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horſe being informed of this accident preſſed on them ſo vigorouſly, that great numbers threw down their arms and ſubmitted. The purſuit was followed through Judoigne till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvaine. In a word, the confederates obtained a compleat victory. They took the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours, or ſtandards, ſix hundred officers, ſix thouſand private ſoldiers; and about

eight

eight thouſand were killed or wounded*. Prince Maximilian and Prince Monbaſon loſt their lives: the Major-General Palavicini and Mezieres were taken, together with the Marquiſſes de Bar, de Nonant, and de la Beaume, this laſt the ſon of the Mareſchal de Tallard, Monſieur de Montmorency, nephew to the Duke of Luxembourg, and many other perſons of diſtinction. The loſs of the allies did not exceed three thouſand men, including Prince Louis of Heſſe, and Mr. Bentinck, who were ſlain in the engagement. The French Generals retired with precipitation to Bruſſels, while the allies took poſſeſſion of Louvaine, and next day encamped at Bethlem. The battle of Ramillies was attended with the immediate conqueſt of all Brabant. The cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and acknowledged King Charles. Oſtend, though ſecured by a ſtrong garriſon, was ſurrendered after a ſiege of ten days. Menin, eſteemed the moſt finiſhed fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by ſix thouſand men, met with the ſame fate. The garriſon of Dendermonde ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and Aeth ſubmitted on the ſame conditions. The French troops were diſpirited. The city of Paris was overwhelmed with conſternation. Louis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmneſs and compoſure: but the conſtraint had ſuch an effect upon his conſtitution, that his phyſicians thought it neceſſary to preſcribe frequent bleeding, which he accordingly underwent. At his court no mention was made of military tranſactions: all was ſolemn, ſilent, and reſerved.

* The French impute the loſs of this battle to the miſconduct of Villeroy, who it muſt be owned, made a moſt wretched diſpoſition. When he returned to Verſailles, where he expected to meet with nothing but reproaches, Louis received him without the leaſt mark of diſpleaſure, ſaying, "Mr. Mareſchal, you and I are too old to be fortunate."

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§ II. Had the iſſue of the campaign in Catalonia been ſuch as the beginning ſeemed to prognoſticate, the French King might have in ſome meaſure conſoled himſelf for his diſgraces in the Netherlands. On the ſixth day of April King Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the ſiege of Barcelona, while the Count de Thouloufe blocked it up with a powerful ſquadron. The inhabitants, animated by the preſence of King Charles, made a vigorous defence; and the garriſon was reinforced with ſome troops from Gironne and other places. But, after the fort of Montjuic was taken, the place was ſo hard preſſed, that Charles ran the utmoſt riſk of falling into the hands of the enemy; for the Earl of Peterborough, who had marched from Valencia with two thouſand men, found it impracticable to enter the city. Nevertheleſs, he maintained his poſt upon the hills; and, with ſurpriſing courage and activity, kept the beſiegers in continual alarm. At length, Sir John Leake ſailed from Liſbon with thirty ſhips of the line; and on the eighth day of May arrived in ſight of Barcelona. The French admiral no ſooner received intelligence of his approach, than he ſet ſail for Toulon. In three days after his departure, King Philip abandoned the ſiege, and retired in great diſorder, leaving behind his tents, with the ſick and wounded. On the ſide of Portugal the Duke of Berwick was left with ſuch an inconſiderable force as proved inſufficient to defend the frontiers. The Earl of Galway, with an army of twenty thouſand men, undertook the ſiege of Alcantara; and in three days the garriſon, conſiſting of four thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. Then he marched to Placentia, and advanced as far as the bridge of Almaris: but the Portugueſe would penetrate no farther until they ſhould know the fate of Barcelona. When they underſtood the ſiege was raiſed, they conſented to proceed to Madrid. Philip gueſſing

their

their intention, posted to that capital, and sent his Queen with all his valuable effects to Burgos, whither he followed her in person, after having destroyed every thing that he could not carry away. About the latter end of June the Earl of Galway entered the city without resistance; but the Spaniards were extremely mortified to see an army of Portuguese, headed by an heretick, in possession of their capital. King Charles loitered away his time in Barcelona, until his competitor recovered his spirits, and received such reinforcements as enabled him to return to Madrid, with an army equal to that commanded by the Earl of Galway. This general made a motion towards Arragon, in order to facilitate his conjunction with Charles, who had set out by the way of Saragossa, where he was acknowledged as sovereign of Arragon and Valencia. In the beginning of August this Prince arrived at the Portuguese camp, with a small reinforcement; and in a few days was followed by the Earl of Peterborough, at the head of five hundred dragoons. The two armies were now pretty equal in point of number; but as each expected further reinforcements, neither chose to hazard an engagement. The Earl of Peterborough, who aspired to the chief command, and hated the Prince of Lichtenstein, who enjoyed the confidence of King Charles retired in disgust; and embarking on board an English ship of war, set sail for Genoa. The English fleet continued all the summer in the Mediterranean; they secured Carthagena, which had declared for Charles: they took the town of Alicant by assault and the castle by capitulation. Then sailing out of the Straits, one squadron was detached to the West-Indies, another to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were sent home to England. CHAP. VIII. 1706.

§ III. Fortune was not more propitious to the French in Italy then in Flanders. The Duke de Vendome having been recalled to assume the com-

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mand in Flanders after the battle of Ramillies, the Duke of Orleans was placed at the head of the army in Piedmont, under the tutorage and direction of the Mareſchal de Marſin. They were ordered to beſiege Turin, which was accordingly inveſted in the month of May: and the operations carried on till the beginning of September. Great preparations had been made for this ſiege. It was not undertaken until the Duke of Savoy had rejected all the offers of the French monarch, which were ſufficient to have ſhaken a Prince of leſs courage and fortitude. The Duke de la Feuillade having finiſhed the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, ſent his quarter-maſter general with a trumpet, to offer paſſports and a guard for the removal of the Ducheſs and her children. The Duke of Savoy replied, that he did not intend to remove his family, and that the Mareſchal might begin to execute his maſter's orders whenever he ſhould think fit, but, when the ſiege began with uncommon fury, and the French fired red-hot balls into the place, the two ducheſſes, with the young Prince and Princeſſes, quitted Turin, and retired to Quieraſco, from whence they were conducted through many dangers into the territories of Genoa. The Duke himſelf forſook his capital, in order to put himſelf at the head of his cavalry; and was purſued from place to place by five-and-forty ſquadrons, under the command of the Count D'Aubeterre. Notwithſtanding the very noble defence which was made by the garriſon of Turin, which deſtroyed fourteen thouſand of the enemy during the courſe of the ſiege, the defences were almoſt ruined, their ammunition began to fail, and they had no proſpect of relief but from Prince Eugene, who had numberleſs difficulties to encounter before he could march to their aſſiſtance. The Duke de Vendome, before he left Italy, had ſecured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio,

and

and formed ſuch lines and entrenchments as he imagined would effectually hinder the Imperial General from arriving in time to relieve the city of Turin. But the Prince ſurmounted all oppoſition; paſſed four great rivers in deſpite of the enemy; and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the thirteenth day of Auguſt. There being joined by the Duke of Savoy, he paſſed the Po between Montcalier and Cavignan. On the fifth day of September they took a convoy of eight hundred loaded mules: next day they paſſed the Doria, and encamped with the right on the bank of that river before Pianeſſa, and the left on the Stura before the Veneria. The enemy were entrenched, having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of Capuchins, called Notre Dame de la Campagne, in their centre. When Prince Eugene approached Turin, the Duke of Orleans propoſed to march out of the entrenchments, and give him battle; and this propoſal was ſeconded by all the general-officers, except Marſin, who, finding the Duke determined, produced an order from the French King commanding the Duke to follow the Mareſchal's advice. The court of Verſailles was now become afraid of hazarding an engagement againſt thoſe who had ſo often defeated their armies; and this officer had private inſtructions to keep within the trenches. On the ſeventh day of September the confederates marched up to the entrenchments of the French, in eight columns, through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were formed in order of battle within half-cannon ſhot of the enemy. Then they advanced to the attack with ſurpriſing reſolution, and met with ſuch a warm reception as ſeemed to ſtop their progreſs. Prince Eugene perceiving this check, drew his ſword, and putting himſelf at the head of the battalions on the left, forced the entrenchments at the firſt charge. The Duke of Savoy met with the ſame ſucceſs in the

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the centre, and on the right near Lucengo. The horſe advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpoſe; and breaking in with vaſt impetuoſity, compleated the confuſion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and retired with precipitation to the other ſide of the Po, while the Duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The Duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the moſt intrepid courage; and received ſeveral wounds in the engagement. Mareſchal de Marſin fell into the hands of the victors, his thigh being ſhattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation. Of the French army about five thouſand men were ſlain on the field of battle: a great number of officers, and upwards of ſeven thouſand men were taken, together with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, an incredible quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, five thouſand beaſts of burthen, ten thouſand horſes belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commiſſary-general, ſo richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three millions of livres. The loſs of the confederates did not exceed three thouſand men killed or diſabled in the action, beſides about the ſame number at the garriſon of Turin, which had fallen ſince the beginning of the ſiege. This was ſuch a fatal ſtroke to the intereſt of Louis, that Madam de Maintenon would not venture to make him fully acquainted with the ſtate of his affairs. He was told that the Duke of Orleans had raiſed the ſiege of Turin at the approach of Prince Eugene; but he knew not that his own army was defeated and ruined. The ſpirits of the French were a little comforted in conſequence of an advantage gained about this time, by the Count de Medavi-grancey, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories. He ſurpriſed the Prince of Heſſe in the neighbourhood of Caſtiglione, and obliged him

him to retire to the Adige, with the loſs of two thouſand men: but this victory was attended with no conſequence in their favour. The Duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garriſons were driven out of every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the caſtle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates. BOOK I 1706.

§ IV. Over and above theſe diſaſters which the French ſuſtained in the courſe of this campaign, they were miſerably alarmed by the project of an invaſion from Britain, formed by the Marquis de Guiſcard, who, actuated by a family diſguſt, had abandoned his country, and become a partizan of the confederates. He was declared a lieutenant-general in the Emperor's army, and came over to London, after having ſettled a correſpondence with the malcontents in the ſouthern parts of France. He inſinuated himſelf into the friendſhip of Henry St. John, ſecretary of war, and other perſons of diſtinction. His ſcheme of invading France was approved by the Britiſh miniſtry, and he was promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons deſtined for that ſervice. About eleven thouſand men were embarked under the conduct of Earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined ſquadrons, commanded by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, ſet ſail from Plymouth on the thirteenth day of Auguſt. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds and there they held a council of war to concert their operations, when they diſcovered that Guiſcards's plan was altogether chimerical, or at leaſt founded upon ſuch ſlight aſſurances and conjectures, as could not juſtify their proceeding to execution. An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to the Admiralty, with the reſult of this council; and, in the mean time, letters arrived at court from the Earl of Galway, after his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, ſoliciting ſuccours with the moſt earneſt entreaties.

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§ V. Poland was at length delivered from the preſence of the King of Sweden, who in the beginning of September ſuddenly marched through Luſatia into Saxony; and in a little time laid that whole electorate under contribution. Auguſtus being thus cut off from all reſource, reſolved to obtain peace on the Swede's own terms, and engaged in a ſecret treaty for this purpoſe. In the mean time the Poles and Muſcovites attacked the Swediſh forces at Kaliſh in Great Poland; and by dint of numbers routed them with great ſlaughter. Notwithſtanding this event, Auguſtus ratified the treaty, by which he acknowledged Staniſlaus as true and rightful King of Poland, reſerving to himſelf no more than the empty title of ſovereign. The confederates were not a litle alarmed to find Charles

in the heart of Germany, and the French court did not fail to court his alliance; but he continued on the reſerve againſt all their ſolicitations. Then they implored his mediation for a peace; and he anſwered, that he would interpoſe his good offices, as ſoon as he ſhould know they would be agreeable to the powers engaged in the grand alliance. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ VI. The pride of Louis was now humbled to ſuch a degree as might have excited the compaſſion of his enemies. He employed the Elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-General, containing propoſals for opening a congreſs. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial preſented by the Marquis d'Alegre. He likewiſe beſought the Pope to interpoſe in his behalf. He offered to cede either Spain and the Weſt-Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily to King Charles; to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the Duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions. Though his real aim was peace, yet he did not deſpair of being able to excite ſuch jealouſies among the confederates as might ſhake the baſis of their union. His hope was not altogether diſappointed. The court of Vienna was ſo much alarmed at the offers he had made, and the reports circulated by his emiſſaries, that the Emperor reſolved to make himſelf maſter of Naples before the allies ſhould have it in their power to cloſe with the propoſals of France. This was the true motive of his concluding a treaty with Louis in the ſucceeding winter, by which the Milaneſe was entirely evacuated, and the French King at liberty to employ thoſe troops in making ſtrong efforts againſt the confederates in Spain and the Netherlands. The Dutch were intoxicated with ſucceſs, and their Penſionary, Heinſius, entirely influenced by the Duke of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the

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the war, which at once gratified his avarice and ambition; for all his great qualities were obſcured by the ſordid paſſion of accumulating wealth. During the whole war the allies never had ſuch an opportunity as they now enjoyed to bridle the power of France effectually, and ſecure the liberties of the empire; and indeed, if their real deſign was to eſtabliſh an equal balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected than by dividing the Spaniſh monarchy between theſe two potentates. The acceſſion of Spain, with all its appendages, to either, would have deſtroyed the equilibrium which the allies propoſed to eſtabliſh. But other motives contributed to a continuation of the war. The powers of the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conqueſts; and England in particular thought herſelf entitled to an indemnification for the immenſe ſums ſhe had expended. Animated by theſe concurring conſiderations Queen Anne and the States-General rejected the offers of France; and declared, that they would not enter into any negociation for peace, except in concert with their allies.

§ VII. The Tories of England began to meditate ſchemes of oppoſition againſt the Duke of Marlborough. They looked upon him as a ſelfiſh nobleman, who ſacrificed the intereſt of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own private advantage. They ſaw their country oppreſſed with an increaſing load of taxes, which they apprehended would in a little time become an intolerable burthen; and they did not doubt but at this period ſuch terms might be obtained as would fully anſwer the great purpoſe of the confederacy. This, indeed, was the prevailing opinion among all the ſenſible people of the nation who were not particularly intereſted in the proſecution of the war, either by being connected with the General, or in ſome ſhape employed in the management of the finances. The Tories were likewiſe

likewiſe inſtigated by a party-ſpirit againſt Marlborough, who, by means of his wife, was in full poſſeſſion of the Queen's confidence, and openly patronized the Whig faction. But the attention of people in general was now turned upon the Scottiſh Parliament, which took into conſideration the treaty of Union lately concluded between the Commiſſioners of both kingdoms. On the third day of October the Duke of Queenſberry, as High-commiſſioner, produced the Queen's letter, in which ſhe expreſſed her hope, that the terms of the treaty would be acceptable to her Parliament of Scotland. She ſaid, an entire and perfect union would be the ſolid foundation of a laſting peace: it would ſecure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animoſities that prevailed among themſelves, and the jealouſies that ſubſiſted between the two nations: it would increaſe their ſtrength, riches, and commerce: the whole iſland would be joined in affection, and free from all apprehenſions of different intereſts: it would be enabled to reſiſt all its enemies, ſupport the Proteſtant intereſt every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe. She renewed her aſſurance of maintaining the government of their Church; and told them, that now they had an opportunity of taking ſuch ſteps as might be neceſſary for its ſecurity after the Union. She demanded the neceſſary ſupplies. She obſerved, that the great ſucceſs with which God Almighty had bleſſed her arms afforded the nearer proſpect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union: that they had no reaſon to doubt but the Parliament of England would do all that ſhould be neceſſary on their part to confirm the Union: finally, ſhe recommended calmneſs and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of ſuch conſequence to the whole iſland of Great-Britain.

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§ VIII. Hitherto the articles of the Union had been induſtriouſly concealed from the knowledge of the people: but the treaty being recited in Parliament, and the particulars divulged, ſuch a flame was kindled through the whole nation, as had not appeared ſince the Reſtoration. The Cavaliers or Jacobites had always foreſeen that this union would extinguiſh all their hopes of a Revolution in favour of a Pretender. The nobility found themſelves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their ſeats in Parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce ſaddled with heavy duties and reſtrictions, and conſidered the privilege of trading to the Engliſh plantations as a precarious and uncertain proſpect of advantage. The barons, or gentlemen, were exaſperated at a coalition, by which their Parliament was annihilated, and their credit deſtroyed. The people in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their Crown was betrayed; that the independency of their nation had fallen a ſacrifice to treachery and corruption; that whatever conditions might be ſpeciouſly offered they could not expect they would be obſerved by a Parliament in which the Engliſh had ſuch a majority. They exaggerated the dangers to which the conſtitution of their Church would be expoſed from a bench of Biſhops, and a Parliament of Epiſcopalians. This conſideration alarmed the Preſbyterian miniſters to ſuch a degree, that they employed all their power and credit in waking the reſentment of their hearers againſt the treaty, which produced an univerſal ferment among all ranks of people. Even the moſt rigid Puritans joined the Cavaliers in expreſſing their deteſtation of the Union; and, laying aſide their mutual animoſities, promiſed to co-operate in oppoſing a meaſure ſo ignominious and prejudicial to their country. In Parliament the oppoſition was headed by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the Marquis of Annandale. The firſt of theſe noblemen

noblemen had wavered ſo much in his conduct, that it is difficult to aſcertain his real political principles. He was generally ſuppoſed to favour the claim of the Pretender; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cauſe, and avoided violent meaſures in the diſcuſſion of this treaty, leſt he ſhould incur the reſentment of the Engliſh Parliament, and forfeit the eſtate he poſſeſſed in that kingdom. Athol was more forward in his profeſſions of attachment to the Court of St. Germain's; but he had leſs ability, and his zeal was ſuppoſed to have been inflamed by reſentment againſt the miniſtry. The debates upon the different articles of the treaty were carried on with great heat and vivacity; and many ſhrewd arguments were uſed againſt this ſcheme of an incorporating Union. One member affirmed, that it would furniſh a handle to any aſpiring Prince to overthrow the liberties of all Britain; for if the Parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather ſubvert its conſtitution, this circumſtance might be a precedent for the Parliament of Great-Britain to aſſume the ſame power: that the repreſentatives for Scotland would, from their poverty, depend upon thoſe who poſſeſſed the means of corruption: and having expreſſed ſo little concern for the ſupport of their own conſtitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. "What! (ſaid the Duke of Hamilton) ſhall "we in half an hour give up what our forefathers "maintained with their lives and fortunes for many "ages? Are here none of the deſcendants of thoſe "worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their "country againſt all invaders; who aſſiſted the great "King Robert Bruce to reſtore the conſtitution, "and revenge the falſehood of England, and the "uſurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglaſſes "and Campbells? Where are the Peers, where are "the Barons, once the bulwark of the nation? "Shall we yield up the ſovereignty and indepen-"dency of our country, when we are commanded

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"by thoſe we repreſent to preſerve the ſame, and "aſſured of their aſſiſtance to ſupport us?" The Duke of Athol proteſted againſt an incorporating Union, as contrary to the honour, intereſt, fundamental laws, and conſtitution of the kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of the Peers, the rights and privileges of the Barons and Boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and liberty of the ſubjects. To this proteſt nineteen Peers and forty-ſix Commoners adhered. The Earl Mareſchal entered a proteſt, importing, that no perſon being ſucceſſor to the Crown of England ſhould inherit that of Scotland, without ſuch previous limitations as might ſecure the honour and ſovereignty of the Scottiſh Crown and Kingdom, the frequency and power of Parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from Engliſh or any foreign influence. He was ſeconded by ſix-and-forty members. With regard to the third article of the Union, ſtipulating, that both kingdoms ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame Parliament, the country-party obſerved, that, by aſſenting to this expedient, they did in effect ſink their own conſtitution, while that of England underwent no alteration: that in all nations there are fundamentals, which no power, whatever can alter: that the rights and privileges of Parliament being one of theſe fundamentals among the Scots, no Parliament, or any other power, could ever legally prohibit the meeting of Parliaments, or deprive any of the three eſtates of its right of ſitting or voting in Parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of Parliament: but that by this treaty the Parliament of Scotland was entirely abrogated, its rights and privileges ſacrificed, and thoſe of the Engliſh Parliament ſubſtituted in their place. They argued, that though the legiſlative power in Parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices; yet the giving up the conſtitution, with the rights and privileges of the nation, was not ſubject

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to ſuffrage, being founded on dominion and property; and therefore could not be legally ſurrendered without the conſent of every perſon who had a right to elect and be repreſented in Parliament. They affirmed that the obligation laid on the Scottiſh members to reſide ſo long in London, in attendance on the Britiſh Parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoveriſh the members, and ſubject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Another proteſt was entered by the Marquis of Annandale againſt an incorporating Union, as being odious to the people, ſubverſive of the conſtitution, ſovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the Church as by law eſtabliſhed. Fifty-two members joined in this proteſtation. Almoſt every article produced the moſt inflammatory diſputes. The Lord Belhaven enumerated the miſchiefs which would attend the Union, in a pathetick ſpeech, that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by great part of the Scottiſh nation. Addreſſes againſt the treaty were preſented to Parliament by the convention of Boroughs, the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, the Company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from ſeveral ſhires, ſtewartries, boroughs, towns, and pariſhes, in all the different parts of the kingdom, without diſtinction of Whig or Tory, Epiſcopalian or Preſbyterian. The Earl of Buchan for the Peers, Lockhart of Carnwarth for the Barons, Sir Walter Stuart in behalf of the Peers, Barons, and Boroughs, the Earls of Errol and Mariſchal for themſelves, as High-conſtable and Earl-marſhal of the kingdom, proteſted ſeverally againſt the treaty of Union.

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§ IX. While this oppoſition raged within doors, the reſentment of the people roſe to tranſports of fury and revenge. The more rigid Preſbyterians, known by the name of Cameronians, choſe officers, formed themſelves into regiments, provided horſes, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries,

BOOK I. 1706. burned the articles of the Union at the Market-croſs, juſtifying their conduct in a publick declaration. They made a tender of their attachment to Duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in ſecret. They reconciled themſelves to the Epiſcopalians and the Cavaliers: they reſolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and diſſolve the Parliament; while the Duke of Athol undertook to ſecure the paſs of Sterling with his Highlanders, ſo as to open the communication between the weſtern and northern parts of the kingdom. Seven or eight thouſand men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh, under the Duke's command, when that nobleman altered his opinion, and diſpatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till further directions. The more ſanguine Cavaliers accuſed his Grace of treachery; but in all likelihood he was actuated by prudential motives. He alledged, in his own excuſe, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on ſuch an enterprize, eſpecially as the Engliſh had already detached troops to the border, and might in a few days have waſted over a conſiderable reinforcement from Holland. During this commotion among the Cameronians, the cities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow were filled with tumults. Sir Patrick Johnſton, provoſt of Edinburgh, who had been one of the Commiſſioners for the Union, was beſieged in his own houſe by the populace, and would have been torn in pieces, had not the guards diſperſed the multitude. The Privy Council iſſued a proclamation againſt riots, commanding all perſons to retire from the ſtreets whenever the drum ſhould beat; ordering the guards to fire upon thoſe who ſhould diſobey this command, and indemnifying them from all proſecution for maiming or ſlaying the lieges. Theſe guards were placed all round the houſe in which the Peers and Commons were aſſembled, and the Council

cil received the thanks of the Parliament, for having thus provided for their ſafety. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions of the Government, the Commiſſioner was conſtantly ſaluted with the curſes and imprecations of the people as he paſſed along: his guards were pelted, and ſome of his attendants wounded with ſtones as they ſat by him in the coach, ſo that he was obliged to paſs through the ſtreets on full gallop. CHAP. IX. 1706

§ X. Againſt all this national fury, the Dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, the Earls of Montroſe, Seafield, and Stair, and the other noblemen attached to the Union, acted with equal prudence and reſolution. They argued ſtrenuouſly againſt the objections that were ſtarted in the houſe. They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privileges of trading to the Engliſh plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful navy; as well as from the excluſion of a Popiſh Pretender, who they knew was odious to the nation in general. They found means, partly by their promiſes, and partly by corruption, to bring over the Earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole ſquadron who had hitherto been unpropitious to the Court. They diſarmed the reſentment of the Clergy, by promoting an act to be inſerted in the Union, declaring the Preſbyterian diſcipline to be the only government in the Church of Scotland, unalterable in all ſucceeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty. They ſoothed the African Company with the proſpect of being indemnified for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. They amuſed individuals with the hope of ſharing the reſt of the equivalent. They employed emiſſaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and diſunite them from the Cavaliers, by canting, praying, and demonſtrating the abſurdity, ſinfulneſs, and danger of ſuch a coalition. Theſe remonſtrances were reinforced by the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds, which

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the Queen privately lent to the Scottiſh treaſury, and which was now diſtributed by the Miniſtry in ſuch a manner as might beſt conduce to the ſucceſs of the treaty. By theſe practices they diminiſhed, though they could not ſilence the clamour of the people, and obtained a conſiderable majority in Parliament, which out-voted all oppoſition. Not but that the Duke of Queenſberry at one time deſpaired of ſucceeding, and being in continual apprehenſion for his life, expreſſed a deſire of adjourning the Parliament, until by time and good management he ſhould be able to remove thoſe difficulties that then ſeemed to be inſurmountable. But the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, who foreſaw that the meaſure would be entirely loſt by delay, and was no judge of the difficulties, inſiſted upon his proceeding. It was at this period that he remitted the money, and gave directions for having forces ready at a call, both in England and Ireland. At length the Scottiſh Parliament approved and ratified all the articles of the Union, with ſome ſmall variation. They then prepared an act for regulating the election of the ſixteen Peers and forty-five Commoners to repreſent Scotland in the Britiſh Parliament. This being touched with the ſceptre, the Three Eſtates proceeded to elect their repreſentatives. The remaining part of the ſeſſion was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of their African Company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent, which was ſcandalouſly miſapplied. On the twenty-fifth day of March the Commiſſioner adjourned the Parliament, after having, in a ſhort ſpeech, taken notice of the honour they had acquired in concluding an affair of ſuch importance to their country. Having thus accompliſhed the great purpoſe of the Court, he ſet out for London, in the neighbourhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about four hundred gentlemen on horſeback.

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Next day he waited upon the Queen at Kenſington, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. Perhaps there is not another inſtance upon record, of a Miniſtry's having carried a point of this importance againſt ſuch a violent torrent of oppoſition, and contrary to the general ſenſe and inclination of a whole exaſperated people. The Scots were perſuaded that their trade would be deſtroyed, their nation oppreſſed, and their country ruined, in conſequence of the union with England; and indeed their opinion was ſupported by very plauſible arguments. The majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulſions, or, at beſt, prove ineffectual. But we now ſee it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognoſticated; that it quietly took effect, and fully anſwered all the purpoſes for which it was intended. Hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are ſurmounted, becauſe they are not ſeen by thoſe who direct the execution of any great project; and that many ſchemes, which theory deems impracticable, will yet ſucceed in the experiment. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ XI. The Engliſh Parliament aſſembling on the third day of December, the Queen, in her ſpeech to both Houſes, congratulated them on the glorious ſucceſſes of her arms. She deſired the Commons would grant ſuch ſupplies as might enable her to improve the advantages of this ſucceſsful campaign. She told them that the treaty of Union, as concluded by the Commiſſioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the conſideration of the Scottiſh Parliament; and ſhe recommended diſpatch in the publick affairs, that both friends and enemies might be convinced of the firmneſs and vigour of their proceedings. The Parliament was perfectly well diſpoſed to comply with all her Majeſty's requeſts. Warm debates were preſented by both Houſes. Then they proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupply, and having examined the eſtimates in

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leſs than a week, voted near ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Nevertheleſs, in examining the accounts, ſome objections aroſe. They found that the extraordinary ſupplies for the ſupport of King Charles of Spain, amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds more than the ſums provided by Parliament. Some members argued that very ill conſequences might enſue, if a miniſtry could thus run the nation in debt, and expect the Parliament ſhould pay the money. The courtiers anſwered, that if any thing had been raiſed without neceſſity, or ill applied, it was reaſonable that thoſe who were in fault ſhould be puniſhed: but, as this expence was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occaſion could not be communicated to Parliament, the Miniſtry was rather to be applauded for their zeal, than condemned for the liberality. The queſtion being put, the majority voted that thoſe ſums had been expended for the preſervation of the Duke of Savoy, for the intereſt of King Charles againſt the common enemy, and for the ſafety and honour of the nation. When the Speaker preſented the mony-bills, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough at Ramillies, was fought before it could be ſuppoſed the armies were in the field, ſo it was no leſs ſurpriſing that the Commons had granted ſupplies to her Majeſty, before the enemy could well know that the Parliament was ſitting. The General was again honoured with the thanks of both Houſes. The Lords in an addreſs, beſought the Queen to ſettle his honours on his poſterity. An act was paſſed for this purpoſe; and, in purſuance of another addreſs from the Commons, a penſion of five thouſand pounds out of the Poſt-Office was ſettled upon him and his deſcendants. The Lords and Commons having adjourned themſelves to the laſt Day of December, the Queen cloſed the year with triumphal proceſſions. As the ſtandards and colours taken at Blenheim had been

been placed in Weſtminſter-hall, ſo now thoſe that had been brought from the field of Ramillies were put up in Guildhall, as trophies, of that victory. About this time, the Earls of Kent, Lindſey, and Kingſton, were raiſed to the rank of Marquiſſes. The Lords Wharton, Paulet, Godolphin, and Cholmondeley, were created Earls. Lord Walden, ſon and heir apparent to the Earl of Suffolk, obtained the title of Earl of Bindon: the Lord-keeper Cowper, and Sir Thomas Pelham were ennobled as Barons. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ XII. The Parliament being aſſembled after their ſhort receſs, the Earl of Nottingham moved for an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her Majeſty would order the proceedings of the Commiſſioners for the Union, as well as thoſe of the Scottiſh Parliament on the ſaid ſubject, to be laid before them. He was ſeconded by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Rocheſter; and anſwered by the Earl of Godolphin, who told them they needed not doubt but that her Majeſty would communicate thoſe proceedings, as ſoon as the Scottiſh Parliament ſhould have diſcuſſed the ſubject of the Union. The Lords Wharton, Somers, and Hallifax obſerved, that it was for the honour of the nation that the treaty of Union ſhould firſt come ratified from the Parliament of Scotland; and that then, and not before, it would be a proper time for the Lords to take it into conſideration. On the twenty-eighth day of January, the Queen in perſon told both Houſes, that the treaty of Union, with ſome additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottiſh Parliament: that ſhe had ordered it to be laid before them; and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She deſired the Commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in caſe the treaty ſhould be approved. She obſerved to both Houſes, that now they had an opportunity of putting the laſt hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; and

BOOK 1. 1706. and that ſhe ſhould look upon it as a particular happineſs, if this great work, which had been ſo often attempted without ſucceſs, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the Commons formed themſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to deliberate on the articles of the Union, and the Scottiſh Act of Ratification, the Tory party, which was very weak in that aſſembly, began to ſtart ſome objections. Sir John Packington diſapproved of this incorporating Union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman againſt her conſent. He ſaid it was an union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without: that the promoters of it had baſely betrayed their truſt, in giving up their independent conſtitution, and he would leave it to the judgement of the Houſe, to conſider whether or no men of ſuch principles were fit to be admitted into their Houſe of Repreſentatives. He obſerved that her Majeſty, by the coronation-oath, was obliged to maintain the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed; and likewiſe bound by the ſame oath to defend the Preſbyterian Kirk of Scotland in one and the ſame kingdom. Now, ſaid he, after this union is in force, who ſhall adminiſter this oath to her Majeſty? It is not the buſineſs of the Scots, who are incapable of it, and no well-wiſhers to the Church of England. It is then only the part of the Biſhops to do it; and can it be ſuppoſed that thoſe reverend perſons will, or can, act a thing ſo contrary to their own order and inſtitution, as thus to promote the eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian church-government in the united kingdom. He added, that the Church of England being eſtabliſhed *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the Kirk was alſo *jure divino*, he could not tell how two nations that claſhed in ſo eſſential an article could unite: he, therefore, thought it proper to conſult the convocation about this critical point. A motion was made, that the firſt article of the treaty, which

implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating Union ſhould be poſtponed; and that the Houſe ſhould proceed to the conſideration of the terms of the intended Union, contained in the other articles. This propoſal being rejected, ſome Tory members quitted the Houſe; and all the articles were examined and approved without further oppoſition. The Whigs were ſo eager in the proſecution of this point, that they proceeded in a very ſuperficial manner, and with ſuch precipitation as furniſhed their enemies with a plauſible pretence to affirm that they had not conſidered the treaty with the coolneſs and deliberation which an affair of this importance required. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ XIII. Before the Lords began to inveſtigate the articles of the Union, they, at the inſtance of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the ſecurity of the Church of England, to be inſerted as a fundamental and eſſential part of that treaty. It paſſed through both Houſes without oppoſition, and received the Royal aſſent. On the fifteenth day of February, the debates concerning the Union began in the Houſe of Lords, the Queen being preſent, and the Biſhop of Sarum chairman of the committee. The Earls of Rocheſter, Angleſey, and Nottingham, argued againſt the Union; as did the Biſhop of Bath and Wells. Lord Haverſham, in a premeditated harangue, ſaid the queſtion was, Whether two nations independent in their ſovereignties, that had their diſtinct laws and intereſts, their different forms of worſhip, church-government, and order, ſhould be united into one kingdom? He ſuppoſed it an Union made up of ſo many miſmatched pieces, of ſuch jarring, incongruous ingredients, that ſhould it ever take effect, it would carry the neceſſary conſequences of a ſtanding power and force, to keep them from falling aſunder and breaking in pieces every moment. He repeated what had been ſaid by Lord Bacon, that an unity pieced up by direct admiſſion

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admiſſion of contrarieties in the fundamental points of it, is like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, which were made of iron and clay, they may cleave together, but would never incorporate. He diſſented from the Union for the ſake of the good old Engliſh conſtitution, in which he dreaded ſome alteration from the additional weight of ſixty-one Scottiſh members, and theſe two returned by a Scottiſh privy-council. He took notice, that above one hundred Scottiſh Peers, and as many Commoners, were excluded from ſitting and voting in Parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to ſit there, as any Engliſh Peer had of ſitting in the Parliament of England. He expreſſed his apprehenſion of this precedent: and aſked what ſecurity any Peer of England had for this right and privilege of Peerage, which thoſe Lords had not. He ſaid, if the Biſhops would weaken their own cauſe, ſo far as to give up the two great points of eſpiſcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for ſecuring the Preſbyterian church-government in Scotland, as the true Proteſtant religion and purity of worſhip; they muſt give up that which had been contended for between them and the Preſbyterians for thirty years, and been defended by the greateſt and moſt learned men in the Church of England. He objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and ſuperiorities were reſerved. He affirmed that the Union was contrary to the ſenſe of the Scottiſh nation: that the murmurs of the people had been ſo loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and ſo bold as to reach even to the doors of the Parliament: that the Parliament itſelf had ſuſpended their beloved clauſe in the Act of Security for arming the people: that the government had iſſued a proclamation pardoning all ſlaughter, bloodſhed, and maiming committed upon thoſe who ſhould be found in tumults. From theſe circumſtances he concluded, that the Scottiſh nation was averſe to an incorporating

ing Union, which he looked upon as one of the moſt dangerous experiments to both nations. Lord North and Grey complained of the ſmall and unequal proportion of the land-tax impoſed upon Scotland. The Earl of Nottingham ſaid it was highly unreaſonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the Engliſh trade, and paid ſo little towards the expence of the government, ſhould moreover have ſuch a round ſum by way of equivalent. The ſame topicks were inſiſted upon by the Lords North and Grey, Guernſey, Granville, Stawell, and Abingdon. The Earl of Nottingham, after having oppoſed every article ſeparately, concluded with words to this effect: "As Sir John "Maynard ſaid to the late King at the Revolution, "that having buried all his contemporaries in Weſt-"minſter-hall, he was afraid, if his Majeſty had "not come in that very juncture of time, he might "have likewiſe outlived the very laws; ſo, if this "Union do paſs, as I have no reaſon to doubt but it "will, I may juſtly affirm I have outlived all the "laws, and the very conſtitution of England: I, "therefore, pray to God to avert the dire effects "which may probably enſue from ſuch an incor-"porating Union".

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§ XIV. Theſe arguments and objections were anſwered by the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, the Lords Townſhend, Halliſax, and Somers, the Biſhops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum. They obſerved, that ſuch an important meaſure could not be effected without ſome inconveniencies; but that theſe ought to be borne, in conſideration of the greatneſs of the advantage: that the chief dangers to which the Church was expoſed aroſe from France and Popery: and this union would effectually ſecure it againſt theſe evils: that Scotland lay on the weakeſt ſide of England, which could not be defended but by an expenſive army. Should a war break out between the

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the two nations, and Scotland be conquered, yet even in that caſe it would be neceſſary to keep it under with a ſtanding army, which any enterprizing Prince might model for his ambitious purpoſes, and joining with the Scots, enſlave his Engliſh dominion: that any union after a conqueſt would be compulſive, conſequently of ſhort duration; whereas, now it was voluntary it would be laſting: that with regard to eccleſiaſtical affairs, all heats and animoſities might be allayed by ſoft and gentle management. The cantons of Switzerland, though they profeſſed different religions, were yet united in one general body; and the diet of Germany was compoſed of Princes and States, among whom three different perſuaſions prevailed; ſo that two ſorts of diſcipline might very well ſubſiſt under one legiſlature. If there was any danger on either ſide, it threatened the Scots much more than the Engliſh, as five hundred and thirteen members could certainly be too hard for forty five; and in the Houſe of Lords, ſix-and-twenty Biſhops would always preponderate againſt ſixteen Peers from Scotland. Notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made by the Lords of the Tory intereſt, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without a good number of proteſtations; and a bill of ratification was prepared in the Lower Houſe by Sir Simon Harcourt, the Solicitor-General, in ſuch an artful manner as to prevent all debates. All the articles, as they paſſed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble, together with the acts made in both Parliaments for the ſecurity of the ſeveral churches; and in concluſion there was one clauſe, by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law. By this contrivance, thoſe who were deſirous of ſtarting new difficulties found themſelves diſabled from purſuing their deſign. They could not object to the recital, which was barely matter of fact; and they had not ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe the general enacting clauſe. On the

Burnet. Boyer. Quincy. Torcy. Tindal. Feuquieres Hiſt. of Europe. Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough. Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough.

the other hand, the Whigs promoted it with ſuch zeal that it paſſed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen, before the others had recollected themſelves from the ſurpriſe which the ſtructure of the bill had occaſioned. It made its way through the Houſe of Lords with equal diſpatch; and, when it received the Royal ſanction, the Queen expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction. She ſaid ſhe did not doubt but it would be remembered and ſpoke of hereafter, to the honour of thoſe who had been inſtrumental in bringing it to ſuch a happy concluſion. She deſired that her ſubjects of both kingdoms ſhould from hence forward behave with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs towards one another, that ſo it might appear to all the world they had hearts diſpoſed to become one people.

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§ XV. As the Act of Union did not take place till the firſt of May, a great number of traders in both kingdoms reſolved to make advantage of this interval. The Engliſh propoſed to export into Scotland ſuch commodities as entitled them to a drawback, with a view to bring them back after the firſt of May. The Scots, on the other hand, as their duties were much lower than thoſe in England, intended to import great quantities of wine, brandy, and other merchandize, which they could ſell at a greater advantage in England after the Union, when there would be a free intercourſe between the two nations. Some of the miniſters had embarked in this fraudulent deſign, which alarmed the merchants of England to ſuch a degree, that they preſented a remonſtrance to the Commons. Reſolutions were immediately taken in the Houſe againſt theſe practices, and a bill was prepared: but the Lords apprehending that it in ſome meaſure infringed the articles of the Union, and that it might give umbrage to the Scottiſh nation, it was dropped. The frauds had been in a good meaſure prevented by the previous reſolutions of the Houſe; and the firſt day of May

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May was now at hand; ſo that the bill was thought unneceſſary. On the twenty-fourth day of April the Queen prorogued the Parliament, after having given them to underſtand, that ſhe would continue by proclamation the Lords and Commons already aſſembled, as members in the firſt Britiſh Parliament on the part of England, purſuant to the powers veſted in her by the acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms, ratifying the treaty of Union. The Parliament was accordingly revived by proclamation, and another iſſued to convoke the firſt Parliament of Great Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the Queen, who beſtowed the title of Duke on the Earls of Roxburgh and Montroſe. She likewiſe granted a commiſſion for a new Privy-council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next Seſſion of Parliament, that the nation might not be diſguſted by too ſudden an alteration of outward appearances. The firſt of May was appointed as a day of publick thankſgiving; and congratulatory addreſſes were ſent up from all parts of England: but the Univerſity of Oxford prepared no compliment; and the Scots were wholly ſilent on this occaſion.

§ XVI. In the courſe of this ſeſſion the Commons, in an addreſs to the Queen, deſired ſhe would re-ſettle the iſlands of St. Chriſtopher's and Nevis in the Weſt-Indies, which had been ravaged by the enemy. They likewiſe reſolved, That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to her Majeſty, praying ſhe would concert meaſures for ſuppreſſing a body of pirates who had made a ſettlement on the iſland of Madagaſcar, as alſo for recovering and preſerving the ancient poſſeſſions, trade, and fiſhery in Newfoundland. The French Refugees likewiſe delivered a remonſtrance to the Queen, recapitulating the benefits which the perſecuted Proteſtants in France had reaped from the aſſiſtance of her

her Royal Progenitors, acknowledging their own happineſs in living under her gentle government, among a people by whom they had been ſo kindly entertained when driven from their native country; and imploring her Majeſty's interpoſition and good offices in favour of their diſtreſſed and perſecuted brethren abroad. She graciouſly received this addreſs, declaring, ſhe had always great compaſſion for the unhappy circumſtances of the Proteſtants in France: that ſhe would communicate her thoughts on this ſubject to her Allies; and ſhe expreſſed her hope that ſuch meaſures might be taken as ſhould effectually anſwer the intent of their petition. In the month of May ſhe granted an audience to an ambaſſador extraordinary from the Czar of Muſcovy, who delivered a letter from his maſter, containing complaints of King Auguſtus, who had maltreated the Ruſſian troops ſent to his aſſiſtance, concluded a diſhonourable peace with Charles King of Sweden, without the knowledge of his allies, and ſurrendered Count Patkul, the Muſcovite miniſter, as a deſerter, to the Swediſh Monarch, contrary to the law of nations, and even to the practice of barbarians. He, therefore, deſired her Britannick Majeſty would uſe her good offices for the enlargement of the Count, and the other Ruſſian priſoners detained at Stockholm; and that ſhe would take into her protection the remains of the Ruſſian auxiliaries upon the Rhine, that they might either enter into the ſervice of the Allies, or be at liberty to return in ſafety to their own country. The Queen actually interpoſed in behalf of Patkul: but her interceſſion proved ineffectual, and that unhappy miniſter was put to death with all the circumſtances of wanton barbarity. As many ſevere and ſarcaſtick writings had lately appeared, in which the Whigs and miniſtry were reviled, and reflexions hinted to the prejudice of the Queen's perſon, the government reſolved to make examples of the authors and publiſhers of theſe licentious

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centious productions. Dr. Joſeph Browne was twice pilloried for a copy of verſes, intituled, "The "Country Parſon's Advice to the Lord-Keeper," and a letter which he afterwards wrote to Mr. Secretary Harley. William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey, underwent the ſame ſentence, as author of a pamphlet, called, "A Letter to the Author of the "Memorial of the Church of England." Edward Ward was fined and ſet in the pillory, for having written a burleſque poem on the times, under the title of "Hudibras Redivivus;" and the ſame puniſhment was inflicted upon William Pittes, author of a performance, intituled, "The Caſe of the Church "of England's Memorial fairly ſtated."

§ XVII. The Lower Houſe of Convocation ſtill continued to wrangle with their Superiors; and though they joined the Upper Houſe in a congratulatory addreſs to the Queen on the ſucceſs of her arms, they reſolved to make application to the Commons againſt the Union. The Queen being appriſed of their deſign, deſired the Archbiſhop to prorogue them for three weeks, before the expiration of which the act of Union had paſſed in Parliament. The Lower Houſe delivered a repreſentation to the Biſhops, in which they affirmed, no ſuch prorogation had ever been ordered during the ſeſſion of Parliament. The Biſhops found in their records ſeven or eight precedents of ſuch prorogations, and above thirty inſtances of the Convocation having ſat ſometimes before, and ſometimes after a ſeſſion of Parliament: nay, ſometimes even when the Parliament was diſſolved. The Queen, informed of theſe proceedings, wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop, intimating, that ſhe looked upon the Lower Houſe as guilty of an invaſion of her Royal Supremacy; and that if any thing of the ſame nature ſhould be attempted for the future, ſhe would uſe ſuch means for puniſhing offenders as the law warranted. The Prolocutor abſenting himſelf from the Convocation, the

the Archbiſhop pronounced ſentence of contumacy againſt him. The Lower Houſe, in a proteſtation, declared this ſentence unlawful and altogether null. Nevertheleſs, the Prolocutor made a full ſubmiſſion, with which the Archbiſhop was ſatisfied, and the ſentence was repealed. About this period the Earl of Sunderland was appointed one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. This change was not effected without great oppoſition from Harley, who was in his heart an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough, and all his adherents; and had already, by his ſecret intrigues, made conſiderable progreſs in a ſcheme for ſuperſeding the influence of the Ducheſs. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§ XVIII. The French King at this juncture ſeemed to be entirely abandoned by his former good fortune. He had ſuſtained ſuch a number of ſucceſſive defeats as had drained his kingdom of people, and his treaſury was almoſt exhauſted. He endeavoured to ſupport the credit of his government by iſſuing mint-bills, in imitation of the bank-notes of England: but, notwithſtanding all his precautions, they paſſed at a diſcount of three-and-fifty per cent. The lands lay uncultivated: the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the ſubjects periſhed with famine. The Allies, on the other hand, ſeemed to proſper in every quarter. They had become maſters of the greateſt part of the Netherlands, in conſequence of the victory at Ramillies; the army of King Charles was conſiderably reinforced: a ſcheme was formed for the conqueſt of Toulon, by the troops of the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, ſupplied with a large ſum of money by Queen Anne, and aſſiſted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. In a word, France ſeemed to be reduced to the verge of deſtruction, from which nothing in all probability could have ſaved her but the jealouſy and miſconduct of the Confederates. Louis, by virtue

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of his capitulation with the Emperor in Italy, was enabled to ſend ſuch reinforcements into Spain, as turned the fortune of the war in that country; while the diſtractions in the council of King Charles prevented that unanimity and concurrence, without which no ſucceſs can be expected. The Earl of Peterborough declared againſt an offenſive war, on account of the difficulty of finding ſubſiſtence in Caſtile; and adviſed Charles to truſt to the expedition againſt Toulon. This opinion he ſent from Italy, to which he had withdrawn.

§ XIX. Charles, However, was perſuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they ſhould appear. On the thirteenth day of March the army was aſſembled at Caudela, to the number of ſixteen thouſand men, under the auſpices of the Marquis das Minas, to whom the Earl of Galway was ſecond in command. They marched towards Yecla, and undertook the ſiege of Vilena; but, having received intelligence that the Duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth day of April in four columns towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number being conſiderably ſuperior to that of the confederates. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The Engliſh and Dutch ſquadrons on the left, ſuſtained by the Portugueſe horſe of the ſecond line, were overpowered after a gallant reſiſtance, The centre, conſiſting chiefly of battalions from Great-Britain and Holland, obliged the enemy to give way, and drove their firſt upon their ſecond line: but the Portugueſe cavalry on the right being broken at the firſt charge, their foot betook themſelves to flight; ſo that the Engliſh and Dutch troops being left naked on the flanks, were ſurrounded and attacked on every ſide. In this dreadful emergency they formed themſelves into a ſquare, and retired from

from the field of battle. By this time the men were quite ſpent with fatigue, and all their ammunition exhauſted: they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their horſe, deſtitute of proviſion, and cut off from all hope of ſupply. Moved by theſe diſmal conſiderations they capitulated, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portugueſe, and part of the Engliſh horſe, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were joined by the Earl of Galway, with about five-and-twenty hundred dragoons which he had brought from the field of battle. About three thouſand men of the allied army were killed upon the ſpot, and among that number Brigadier Killigrew, with many officers of diſtinction. The Earl of Galway, who charged in perſon at the head of Guiſcard's dragoons, received two deep cuts in the face. The Marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and ſaw his concubine, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his ſide: the Lords Tyrawley, Mark Ker, and Colonel Clayton, were wounded: all their artillery, together with an hundred and twenty colours and ſtandards, and about ten thouſand men, were taken; ſo that no victory could be more complete: yet it was not purchaſed without the loſs of two thouſand men ſlain in the action, including ſome officers of eminence. The Duke of Berwick, who commanded the troops of King Philip, acquired a great addition of fame by his conduct and behaviour before and during the engagement: but his authority was ſuperſeded by the Duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle. This Prince ſeemed to entertain ſome private views of his own; for he took no effectual ſtep to improve the victory. He began a private negociation with the Earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive on the banks of the Cinca; and he concluded the campaign with the ſiege of Lerida, which

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was ſurrendered by capitulation on the ſecond day of November: then the troops on both ſides went into winter quarters. The Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Liſbon, and General Carpenter remained commander of the Engliſh forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to King Charles.

§ XX. The attempt upon Toulon by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene might have ſucceeded, if the Emperor, notwithſtanding the repeated remonſtrances of the Maritime Powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a conſiderable body through the Eccleſiaſtical State towards Naples, of which he took poſſeſſion without any difficulty. Beſides, ten thouſand recruits deſtined for the Imperial forces in Italy were detained in Germany, from an apprehenſion of the King of Sweden, who remained in Saxony, and ſeemed to be upon very indifferent terms with the Emperor. With the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene paſſed the Var * on the eleventh day of July, at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men, and marched directly towards Toulon, whither the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined ſquadrons. The French King was extremely alarmed at this attempt, as five thouſand pieces of cannon, vaſt magazines, and the beſt part of his fleet, were in the

* This paſſage was effected to the aſtoniſhment of the French, who thought the works they had raiſed on that river were impregnable. The honour of the enterprize was in a great meaſure owing to the gallantry of Sir John Norris and the Engliſh ſeamen. That brave officer, embarking in boats with ſix hundred ſailors and marines, entered the river, and were rowed within muſket ſhot of the enemy's works, where they made ſuch a vigorous and unexpected attack, that the French were immediately driven from part of their entrenchments: then Sir John landed with his men, clambered over the works that were deemed inacceſſible, and attacking the defendants ſword in hand, compelled them to fly with the utmoſt precipitation. This detachment was ſuſtained by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel in perſon. The Duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the enemy's conſternation, paſſed the river almoſt without oppoſition.

harbour

harbour of Toulon, and ran the greateſt riſque of being entirely taken or deſtroyed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with conſternation, when they found their enemies were in the boſom of their country. The monarch reſolved to leave no ſtone unturned for the relief of the place, and his ſubjects exerted themſelves in a very extraordinary manner for its preſervation. The nobility of the adjacent provinces armed their ſervants and tenants, at the head of whom they marched into the city: they coined their plate, and pawned their jewels for money to pay the workmen employed upon the fortifications; and ſuch induſtry was uſed, that in a few days the town and harbour, which had been greatly neglected, were put in a good poſture of defence. The allies took poſſeſſion of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, erected batteries. From theſe they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole, and co-operated in the ſiege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garriſon was numerous, and defended the place with great vigour. They ſunk ſhips in the entrance to the mole: they kept up a prodigous fire from the ramparts: they made deſperate ſallies, and even drove the beſiegers from one of their poſts with great ſlaughter. The French King, alarmed at this deſign of his enemies, ordered troops to march towards Toulon from all parts of his dominions. He countermanded the forces that were on their route to improve the victory of Almanza: a great part of the army under Villars on the Rhine was detached to Provence, and the Court of Verſailles declared, that the Duke of Burgundy ſhould march at the head of a ſtrong army to the relief of Toulon. The Duke of Savoy being appriſed of theſe preparations, ſeeing no hope of reducing the place, and being apprehenſive that

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his paſſage would be intercepted, reſolved to abandon his enterprize. The artillery being reimbarked, with the ſick and wounded. he decamped in the night, under favour of a terrible bombardment and cannonading from the Engliſh fleet, and retreated to his own country without moleſtation *. Then he undertook the reduction of Suza, the garriſon of which ſurrendered at diſcretion. By this conqueſt he not only ſecured the key to his own dominions, but alſo opened to himſelf a free paſſage into Dauphiné.

§ XXI. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel having left a ſquadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean ſervice, ſet ſail for England with the reſt of the fleet, and was in ſoundings on the twenty-ſecond day of October. About eight o'clock at night his own ſhip, the Aſſociation, ſtruck upon the rocks of Scilly, and periſhed with every perſon on board. This was likewiſe the fate of the Eagle and the Romney: the Firebrand was daſhed in pieces on the rocks; but the Captain and four-and-twenty men ſaved themſelves in the boat: the Phœnix was driven on ſhore: the Royal Anne was ſaved by the preſence of Mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: the St. George, commanded by Lord Durſley, ſtruck upon the rocks, but a wave ſet her afloat again. The Admiral's body, being caſt aſhore, was ſtripped and buried in the ſand; but afterwards diſcovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; but raiſed himſelf to the chief command at ſea, by his induſtry, valour, ſkill,

* Had the Duke of Savoy marched with expedition from the Var, he would have found Toulon defenceleſs; but he lingered in ſuch a manner as gives reaſon to believe he was not hearty in the enterprize; and his operations were retarded by a difference between him and his kinſman Prince Eugene.

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and integrity. On the Upper Rhine the allies were unproſperous *. The Prince of Baden was dead, and the German army ſo inconſiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Buhl againſt the Mareſchal de Villars, who broke through this work, eſteemed the rampart of Germany, reduced Raſtadt, defeated a body of horſe, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg un- CHAP. IX. 1707.

* In the month of May three ſhips of the line, namely, the Royal Oak, of ſeventy-ſix guns, commanded by Commodore Baron Wylde; the Grafton, of ſeventy guns, Captain Edward Acton; and the Hampton-Court, of ſeventy guns, Captain George Clements, ſailed as convoy to the Weſt India and Portugal fleet of merchant ſhips, amounting to five-and-fifty ſail. They fell in with the Dunkirk ſquadron, conſiſting of ten ſhips of war, one frigate, and four privateers, under the command of M. de Forbin. A furious action immediately enſued, and notwithſtanding the vaſt diſproportion in point of number, was maintained by the Engliſh Commodore with great gallantry, until Captain Acton was killed, Captain Clements mortally wounded, and the Grafton and Hampton Court were taken, after having ſunk the Saliſbury, at that time in the hands of the French: then the Commodore, having eleven feet water in his hold, diſengaged himſelf from the enemy, by whom he had been ſurrounded, and ran his ſhip a ground near Dungeneſſe; but ſhe afterwards floated, and he brought her ſafe into the Downs. In the mean time the French frigate and privateers made prize of twenty-one Engliſh merchant-ſhips of great value, which, with the Grafton and Hampton-Court, Forbin conveyed in triumph to Dunkirk. In July the ſame active officer took fifteen ſhips belonging to the Ruſſian company, off the coaſt of Lapland: In September he joined another ſquadron fitted out at Breſt under the command of the celebrated M. du Guai Trouin, and theſe attacked, off the Lizard, the convoy of the Portugal fleet, conſiſting of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonſhire, of eighty; the Royal Oak, of ſeventy-ſix; the Cheſter and Ruby, of fifty guns each. Though the French ſquadron did not fall ſhort of twelve ſail of the line, the Engliſh Captains maintained the action for many hours with ſurpriſing valour. At length the Devonſhire was obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers: the Cumberland blew up: the Cheſter and Ruby were taken; the Royal Oak fought her way through the midſt of her enemies, and arrived ſafe in the harbour of Kinſale; and the Liſbon fleet ſaved themſelves, by making the beſt of their way during the engagement. Since the battle off Malaga the French King had never dared to keep the ſea with a large fleet, but carried on a kind of piratical war of this ſort in order to diſtreſs the trade of England. He was the more encouraged to purſue theſe meaſures, by the correſpondence which his miniſters carried on with ſome wretches belonging to the Admiralty, and the other officers, who baſely betrayed their country in tranſmitting to France ſuch intelligence concerning the convoys appointed for the protection of commerce, as enabled the enemy to attack them at advantage. In the courſe of this year the French Fiſhery, ſtages, ſhips, and veſſels in Newfoundland were taken, burned, and deſtroyed, by Captain John Underdown, of the Falkland.

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der contribution, took Stutgard and Schorndorf; and routed three thouſand Germans entrenched at Lorch, under the command of General Janus, who was made priſoner. In all probability, this active officer would have made great progreſs towards the reſtoration of the Elector of Bavaria, had not he been obliged to ſtop in the middle of his career, in conſequence of his army's being diminiſhed by ſending off detachments to Provence. The Imperial army retired towards Hailbron, and the command of it was, at the requeſt of the Emperor and allies, aſſumed by the Elector of Hanover, who reſtored military diſcipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumſpection: but he had not force ſufficient to undertake any enterprize of importance.

§ XXII. In the month of April the Duke of Marlborough ſet out from the Hague for Leipſick with a letter from the Queen to Charles XII. of Sweden, whoſe deſigns were ſtill ſo myſterious, that the confederates could not help being alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. The Duke was pitched upon as the moſt proper Ambaſſador, to ſoothe his vanity and penetrate into his real intention *. He found this original character, not ſimple, but ſordid in his appearance and œconomy, ſavage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, ſtubborn, implacable, and reſerved. The Engliſh General aſſailed him on the ſide of his vanity, the only part by which he was acceſſible. "Sire, ſaid he, "I preſent to your Majeſty a letter, not from the "Chancery, but from the heart of the Queen my "miſtreſs, and written with her own hand. Had

* When the Duke arrived in his coach at the quarters of Count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was given to underſtand that the Count was buſy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swediſh miniſter came down to receive him. When he appeared at laſt, the Duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, paſſed the Count without ſaluting him, and went aſide to the wall, where having ſtaid ſome time, he returned, and accoſted him with the moſt polite addreſs.

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« not her ſex prevented her from taking ſo long a « journey, ſhe would have croſſed the ſea to ſee a « Prince admired by the whole univerſe. I eſteem « myſelf happy in having the honour of aſſuring « your Majeſty of my regard; and I ſhould think « it a great happineſs, if my affairs would allow me, « to learn under ſo great a general as your Majeſty, « what I want to know in the art of war." Charles was pleaſed with this overſtrained compliment, which ſeems to have been calculated for a raw, unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted with the characters of mankind. He profeſſed particular veneration for Queen Anne, as well as for the perſon of her Ambaſſador, and declared he would take no ſteps to the prejudice of the grand alliance. Nevertheleſs, the ſincerity of this declaration has been queſtioned. The French court is ſaid to have gained over his miniſter, Count Piper, to their intereſt. Certain it is, he induſtriouſly ſought occaſion to quarrel with the Emperor, and treated him with great inſolence, until he ſubmitted to all his demands. The treaty being concluded upon the terms he thought proper to impoſe, he had no longer the leaſt ſhadow of pretence to continue his diſputes with the court of Vienna: and therefore began his march for Poland, which was by this time over-run by the Czar of Muſcovy.

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§ XXIII. The Duke of Marlborough returning from Saxony, aſſembled the allied army at Anderlach near Bruſſels, about the middle of May; and, underſtanding that the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke de Vendome, who commanded the French forces, had quitted their lines, he advanced to Soignies, with a deſign to engage them in the plain of Fleurus. But receiving certain intelligence, that the enemy were greatly ſuperior to the allies in number, by the help of drafts from all the garriſons, he retreated towards Bruſſels, and took poſt at Mildert; while the French advanced to Gemblours.

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blours. Both armies lay inactive until the enemy ſent off a large detachment towards Provence. Then the Duke of Marlborough and General D'Auverquerque reſolved to attack them in their fortified camp at Gemblours. But they retreated with ſuch celerity from one poſt to another, that the confederates could not come up with them until they were ſafely encamped with the right at Pont-a-Treſin, and their left under the cannon of Liſle, covered with the river Schelde, and ſecured by entrenchments. The allies choſe their camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, within a league of the enemy: but nothing could induce them to hazard an engagement; and both armies went into winter-quarters in the latter end of October. The Duke of Marlborough ſet out for Franckfort, where he conferred with the Electors of Mentz, Hanover, and Palatine, about the operations of the next campaign: then he returned to the Hague, and having concerted the neceſſary meaſures with the deputies of the States-General, embarked for England in the beginning of November.

§ XXIV. The Queen's private favour was now ſhifted to a new object. The Ducheſs of Marlborough was ſupplanted by Mrs. Maſham, her own kinſwoman, whom ſhe had reſcued from indigence and obſcurity. This favourite ſucceeded to that aſcendancy over the mind of her Sovereign which the Ducheſs had formerly poſſeſſed. She was more humble, pliable, and obliging, than her firſt patroneſs, who had played the tyrant, and thwarted the Queen in ſome of her moſt reſpected maxims. Her Majeſty's prepoſſeſſion in favour of the Tories and High-churchmen was no longer inſolently condemned, and violently oppoſed. The new confidante conformed to all her prejudices, and encouraged all her deſigns with aſſent and approbation. In political intrigues ſhe acted as aſſociate, or rather auxiliary, to Mr. Secretary Harley, who had inſinuated

ated himſelf into the Queen's good graces: and determined to ſap the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin. His aim was to unite the Tory intereſt under his own auſpices, and expel the Whigs from the advantages they poſſeſſed under the government. His chief coadjutor in this ſcheme was Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taſte, penetrating, eloquent, ambitious, and enterpriſing, whoſe talents were rather ſpecious than ſolid, and whoſe principles were looſe and fluctuating. He was at firſt contented to act in an inferior capacity, ſubſervient to the deſigns of the Secretary: but, when he underſtood the full extent of his own parts and influence, he was fired with the ambition of eclipſing his principal, and from the ſphere of his miniſter raiſed himſelf to the character of his rival. Theſe politicians, with the aſſiſtance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the diſunited Tories, who were given to underſtand, that the Queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the Whigs: that ſhe had been always a friend in her heart to the Tory and High-church party; and that ſhe would now exhibit manifeſt proof of her inclination. She accordingly beſtowed the biſhopricks of Cheſter and Exeter upon Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwiſe of unblemiſhed characters, had openly condemned the Revolution.

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§ XXV. The people in general began to be ſick of the Whig miniſtry, whom they had formerly careſſed. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned; burthens which they had hitherto been animated to bear by the pomp of triumph and uninterrupted ſucceſs. At preſent they were diſcouraged by the battle of Almanza, the miſcarriage of the expedition againſt Toulon, the loſs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and the fate of four ſhips of the

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line, deſtroyed or taken by a ſquadron under the command of Meſſieurs Forbin and Du Guai Trouin, two of the moſt enterpriſing ſea-officers in the French ſervice. No new advantage had been obtained in the Netherlands: France, inſtead of ſinking under the weight of the confederacy, ſeemed to riſe with freſh vigour from every overthrow: the Engliſh traders had lately ſuſtained repeated loſſes for want of proper convoys: the coin of the nation was viſibly diminiſhed; and the public credit began to decline. The Tories did not fail to inculcate and exaggerate theſe cauſes of diſcontent, and the miniſtry were too remiſs in taking proper ſteps for the ſatisfaction of the nation. Inſtead of ſoothing by gentle meaſures, and equal adminiſtration, the Scots, who had expreſſed ſuch averſion to the Union, they treated them in ſuch a manner, as ſerved to exaſperate the ſpirits of that people. A ſtop was put to their whole commerce for two months before it was diverted into the new channel. Three months elapſed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied to the moſt ſhameful partiality. Seizures of wines and other merchandiſe imported from thence into England, were made in all the northern parts with an affectation of ſeverity and diſdain: ſo that the generality of the Scottiſh nation loudly exclaimed againſt the Union and the Government. The Jacobites were again in commotion. They held conferences: they maintained a correſpondence with the court of St. Germain's: a great number of the moſt rigid Whigs entered ſo far into their meaſures, as to think a Revolution was abſolutely neceſſary to retrieve the liberties, independence, and commerce of their country: the Pretender's birth-day was publickly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom; and every thing ſeemed to portend an univerſal revolt. Ireland continued quiet under the adminiſtration of the Earl of Pembroke, whom the Queen had appointed

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Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom. A Parliament having met at Dublin in the month of July, preſented addreſſes of congratulation to her Majeſty on the late Union of the two kingdoms. The Commons having inſpected the public accounts, reſolved, That the kingdom had been put to exceſſive charge, by means of great arrears of rent returned by the late truſtees, as due out of the forfeited eſtates, which returns were falſe and unjuſt; and, That an humble repreſentation ſhould be laid before her Majeſty on this ſubject. They paſſed another laudable reſolution in favour of their own manufactures. They granted the neceſſary ſupplies, and having finiſhed ſeveral bills for the Royal aſſent, were prorogued on the twenty-ninth day of October. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§ XXVI. It was on the twenty-third of the ſame month, that the firſt Parliament of Great-Britain aſſembled at Weſtminſter, when the Queen in her ſpeech to both Houſes palliated the miſcarriages in Provence and in Spain; repreſented the neceſſity of making further efforts againſt the common enemy; and exhorted them to be upon their guard againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſow jealouſies in the commonwealth. The Commons, in their addreſs, expreſſed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her Majeſty's government: but, in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Wharton expatiated upon the ſcarcity of money, the decay of trade, the miſmanagement of the navy. He was ſeconded by Lord Somers, and the leaders of the Tory party, who propoſed, that, previous to every meaſure, they ſhould conſider the ſtate of the nation. The deſign of Wharton and Somers, was to raiſe the Earl of Orford once more to the head of the Admiralty; and the Tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped in the courſe of the enquiry to fix the blame of all miſmanagement upon the Whig miniſters. A day being fixed for this examination, the Houſe received a petition from the ſheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great loſſes by ſea, for want of

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of cruiſers and convoys; and theſe complaints were proved by witneſſes. The report was ſent to the Lord-Admiral, who anſwered all the articles ſeparately: then the Tories moved for an addreſs, in which the blame of the miſcarriages might be laid upon the miniſtry and cabinet-council: but the motion was over-ruled: the Queen was preſented with a bare repreſentation of the facts, and deſired that ſhe would take the proper meaſures for preventing ſuch evils for the future. The Commons made ſome progreſs in an enquiry of the ſame nature; and brought in a bill for the better ſecuring the trade of the kingdom. They chearfully granted the ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They prepared another bill for repealing the Scottiſh Act of Security, and that about peace and war, which had excited ſuch jealouſy in the Engliſh nation. They reſolved, That there ſhould be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain: That the militia of Scotland ſhould be put on the ſame footing with that of England: That the powers of the juſtices of the peace ſhould be the ſame through the whole iſland: that the lords of juſticiary in Scotland ſhould go circuits twice in the year: That the writs for electing Scottiſh members to ſerve in the Houſe of Commons ſhould be directed, and returns made, in the ſame manner as practiſed in England. An act being formed on theſe reſolutions, they brought in a bill for preſerving the trade with Portugal: then they conſidered the ſtate of the war in Spain.

§ XXVII. When the Queen paſſed theſe bills, ſhe recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. This intimation produced a debate in the Houſe of Lords, on the affairs of Spain. The ſervices of the Earl of Peterborough were extolled by the Earl of Rocheſter and Lord Haverſham, who levelled ſome oblique reflections at the Earl of Galway. Several Lords enlarged upon the neceſſity

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neceſſity of carrying on the war until King Charles ſhould be fully eſtabliſhed upon the throne of Spain. The Earl of Peterborough ſaid they ought to contribute nine ſhillings in the pound rather than make peace on any other terms: he declared himſelf ready to return to Spain, and ſerve even under the Earl of Galway. The Earl of Rocheſter repeated a maxim of the old Duke of Schomberg, That attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns. He therefore propoſed, that the Allies ſhould ſtand on the defenſive in Flanders, and detach from thence fifteen or twenty thouſand men into Catalonia. He was ſeconded by the Earl of Nottingham; but warmly oppoſed by the Duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant which he had conquered could not be preſerved without a conſiderable number of men; and that if the French ſhould gain any advantage in Flanders from their ſuperiority in point of number, the diſcontented party in Holland, which was very numerous, and bore with impatience the burthen of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace. Being challenged by Rocheſter to ſhow how troops could be procured for the ſervice of Italy and Spain, he aſſured the Houſe, that meaſures had been already concerted with the Emperor, for forming an army of forty thouſand men under the Duke of Savoy, for ſending powerful ſuccours to King Charles. This declaration finiſhed the debate, which iſſued in an affectionate addreſs to her Majeſty. The Lords reſolved, that no peace could be ſafe and honourable for her Majeſty and her Allies, if Spain and the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies were ſuffered to continue in the power of the Houſe of Bourbon. They preſented an addreſs, in which they deſired ſhe would preſs the Emperor to ſend powerful ſuccours to Spain under the command of Prince Eugene, with all poſſible expedition to make good his contract with the Duke of Savoy, and ſtrengthen the army

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on the Rhine, which was now happily put under the conduct of that wife and valiant Prince, the Elector of Hanover. The Commons concurred in this remonſtrance, in conſequence of which the Queen deſired the Emperor to beſtow the command in Spain upon Prince Eugene. The court of Vienna, however, did not comply with this requeſt; but ſent thither Count Staremberg, who, of all the German Generals, was next to the Prince in military reputation. The Commons now proceeded to conſider of ways and means, and actually eſtabliſhed funds for raiſing the ſupply, which amounted to the enormous ſum of ſix millions.

§ XXVIII. At this period Mr. Harley's character incurred ſuſpicion, from the treachery of William Gregg, an inferior clerk in his office, who was detected in a correſpondence with Monſieur Chamillard, the French King's miniſter. When his practices were detected, he made an ample confeſſion, and pleading guilty to his indictment at the Old-Bailey, was condemned to death for high-treaſon. At the ſame time, John Bara and Alexander Valiere were committed to Newgate, for correſponding with the enemy; and Claude Baud, ſecretary to the Duke of Savoy's miniſter, was, at the requeſt of his maſter, apprehended for traitorous practices againſt her Majeſty and her government. A committee of ſeven Lords being appointed to examine theſe delinquents, made a report to the Houſe, which was communicated to the Queen, in an addreſs, importing, that Gregg had diſcovered ſecrets of ſtate to the French miniſter: that Alexander Valiere and John Bara had managed a correſpondence with the Governors and Commiſſaries of Calais and Boulogn: and, in all probability, diſcovered to the enemy the ſtations of the Britiſh cruiſers, the ſtrength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant-ſhips proceeded on their voyages; that all the papers in the office of Mr. Secretary Harley had been for a conſiderable

considerable time exposed to the view of the meanest clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. The Queen granted a reprieve to this man, in hope of his making some important discovery: but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation. He was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery: but he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence. As he had no secrets of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, where he delivered a paper to the Sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley entirely ignorant of all his treasonable connexions, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him in an accusation of that minister. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§ XXIX. The Queen had refused to admit the Earl of Peterborough into her presence, until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which King Charles had complained in divers letters. He was eagerly desirous of a parliamentary enquiry. His military proceedings, his negociations, his disposal of the remittances were taken into consideration by both Houses: but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the enquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in Parliament. Then they took cognizance of the state affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops at the battle of Almanza. This, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the Queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service. The bill for rendering the Union more complete met with a vigorous opposi-

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tion in the Houſe of Lords from the court-party, on account of the clauſe enacting, That, after the firſt of May, there ſhould be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain. The miniſtry finding it was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by all the Tories, and a conſiderable number of the other faction, would have compromiſed the difference, by propoſing that the privy-council of Scotland ſhould continue to the firſt day of October. They hinted this expedient, in hope of being able to influence the enſuing elections: but their deſign being palpable, the motion was over-ruled, and the bill received the Royal aſſent: a Court of Exchequer, however, was erected in Scotland upon the model of that in England. The execution of Gregg, and the examination of Valiere and Bara, who had acted as ſmugglers to the coaſt of France, under the protection of Harley, to whom they engaged for intelligence, affected the credit of that miniſter, who was reviled and traduced by the emiſſaries of the Whig party. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, being appriſed of his ſecret practices with Mrs. Maſham, wrote to the Queen, that they could ſerve her no longer, ſhould Mr. Harley continue in the poſt of Secretary. Being ſummoned to the cabinet-council, they waited on her in perſon, and expoſtulated on the ſame ſubject. She endeavoured to appeaſe their reſentment with ſoft perſuaſion, which had no effect; and when they retired from court, to the aſtoniſhment of all the ſpectators, ſhe repaired in perſon to the council. There Mr. Secretary Harley began to explain the cauſe of their meeting, which was ſome circumſtance relating to foreign affairs. The Duke of Somerſet, ſaid he did not ſee how they could deliberate on ſuch matters while the General and Treaſurer were abſent: the other members obſerved a ſullen ſilence; ſo that the council broke up, and the Queen found herſelf in danger of being abandoned by her miniſters. Next day

day her Majeſty ſent for the Duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley ſhould immediately reſign his office, which was conferred upon Mr. Henry Boyle, Chancellor of the exchequer: but ſhe deeply reſented the deportment of the Duke and the Earl of Godolphin, from whom ſhe entirely withdrew her confidence. Sir Simon Harcourt, Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Manſel, Comptroller of the Houſehold, and Mr. St. John, relinquiſhed their ſeveral poſts upon the diſgrace of Harley. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§ XXX. The kingdom was at this period alarmed with a threatened invaſion from France. The court of St. Germain's had ſent over one Colonel Hook with credentials to Scotland, to learn the ſituation, number, and ability of the Pretender's friends in that country. This miniſter, by his miſconduct, produced a diviſion among the Scottiſh Jacobites. Being a creature of the Duke of Perth, he attached himſelf wholly to the Duke of Athol, and thoſe other zealous partizans who were bent upon receiving the Pretender without conditions; and he neglected the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl Mariſchal, and other adherents of that Houſe, who adopted the more moderate principles avowed by the Earl of Middleton. At his return to France, he made ſuch a favourable report of the diſpoſition and power of the Scottiſh nation, that Louis reſolved to equip an armament, and ſend over the Pretender to that kingdom. His pretence was to eſtabliſh that Prince on the throne of his anceſtors: but his real aim was to make a diviſion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great-Britain, which ſhould hinder Queen Anne from exerting herſelf againſt France on the continent. He began to make preparations for this expedition at Dunkirk, where a ſquadron was aſſembled under the command of the Chevalier de Fourbin; and a body of land-forces were embarked with Monſieur de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of the Mareſchal de Matignon. The Pre-

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tender, who had assumed the name of the Chevalier de St. George, was furnished with services of gold and silver plate, sumptuous tents, rich clothes for his life-guards, splendid liveries, and all sorts of necessaries even to profusion. Louis at parting presented him with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said to this Adventurer's father: "He hoped he should "never see him again." The Pope contributed to the expence of this expedition, and accommodated him with divers religious inscriptions, which were wrought upon his colours and standards. Queen Anne being informed of these preparations, and the design of the French monarch, communicated to the Commons the advices which she had received from Holland and the Netherlands, touching the destination of the Dunkirk armament: both Houses concurred in an address, assuring her they would assist her Majesty with their lives and fortunes against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all her other enemies. Then they passed a bill, enacting, That the oath of abjuration should be tendered to all persons, and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of convicted recusants. By another, they suspended the Habeas Corpus act till October, with relation to persons apprehended by the government on suspicion of treasonable practices. The Pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chiefs who should take up arms against her Majesty. Transports were hired to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend: a large fleet being equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from Deal towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley. The French imagined that Leake had sailed to Lisbon, and that Britain was unprovided of ships of war; so that they were amazed and confounded when this fleet appeared

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peared off Mardyke: a ſtop was immediately put to the embarkation of their troops: frequent expreſſes were diſpatched to Paris: the Count de Fourbin repreſented to the French King the little probability of ſucceeding in this enterprize, and the danger that would attend the attempt: but he received poſitive orders to embark the forces, and ſet ſail with the firſt favourable wind.

§ XXXI. The Britiſh fleet being forced from their ſtation by ſevere weather on the fourteenth day of March, the French ſquadron ſailed on the ſeventeenth from the road of Dunkirk; but the wind ſhifting, it anchored in Newport-pits till the nineteenth in the evening, when they ſet ſail again with a fair breeze, ſteering their courſe for Scotland. Sir George Byng having received advice of their departure, from an Oſtend veſſel ſent out for that purpoſe by Major-General Cadogan, gave chace to the enemy, after having detached a ſquadron, under Admiral Baker, to convoy the troops that were embarked at Oſtend for England. On the tenth day of March the Queen went to the Houſe of Peers, where, in a ſpeech to both Houſes, ſhe told them that the French fleet had ſailed; that Sir George Byng was in purſuit of them; and that ten battalions of her troops were expected every day in England. This intimation was followed by two very warm addreſſes from the Lords and Commons, in which they repeated their aſſurances of ſtanding by her againſt all her enemies. They exhorted her to perſevere in ſupporting the common cauſe, notwithſtanding this petty attempt to diſturb her dominions; and levelled ſome ſevere inſinuations againſt thoſe who endeavoured to foment jealouſies between her Majeſty and her moſt faithful ſervants. Addreſſes on the ſame occaſion were ſent up from different parts of the kingdom; ſo that the Queen ſeemed to look with contempt upon the deſigns of the enemy. Several regiments of foot, with ſome ſquadrons of

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cavalry began their march for Scotland: the Earl of Leven, commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, haſtened thither to put that fortreſs in a poſture of defence, and to make the proper diſpoſitions to oppoſe the Pretender at his landing. But the vigilance of Sir George Byng rendered all theſe precautions unneceſſary. He ſailed directly to the Frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almoſt as ſoon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the ſail they could carry. The Engliſh Admiral gave chaſe; and the Saliſbury, one of their ſhips, was boarded and taken. At night Monſieur de Fourbin altered his courſe; ſo that next day they were out of reach of the Engliſh ſquadron. The Pretender deſired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverneſs, and Fourbin ſeemed willing to gratify his requeſt: but the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he repreſented the danger of attempting to proſecute the voyage; and, with the conſent of the Chevalier de St. George and his General, returned to Dunkirk, after having been toſſed about a whole month in very tempeſtuous weather. In the mean time, Sir George Byng ſailed up to Leith road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a teſtimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehenſions under which they laboured.

§ XXXII. Certain it is, the Pretender could not have choſen a more favourable opportunity for making a deſcent upon Scotland. The people in general were diſaffected to the government on account of the Union: the regular troops under Leven did not exceed five-and-twenty hundred men, and even great part of theſe would in all probability have joined the invader: the caſtle of Edinburgh was deſtitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have

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have ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; in which caſe the Jacobites muſt have been maſters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortreſs: a good number of Dutch ſhips loaded with cannon, ſmall arms, ammunition, and a large ſum of money, had been driven on ſhore in the ſhire of Angus, where they would have been ſeized by the friends of the Pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that Houſe were ready to appear in arms. In England, ſuch a demand was made upon the Bank, by thoſe who favoured the invaſion, and thoſe who dreaded a revolution, that the publick credit ſeemed to be in danger. The Commons reſolved, That whoever deſignedly endeavoured to deſtroy or leſſen the publick credit, eſpecially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invaſion, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanour, and an enemy to her Majeſty and the kingdom. The Lord Treaſurer ſignified to the Directors of the Bank, that her Majeſty would allow, for ſix months, an intereſt of ſix per cent. upon their bills, which was double the uſual rate; and conſiderable ſums of money were offered to them by this nobleman, as well as by the Dukes of Marlborough, Newcaſtle, and Somerſet. The French, Dutch, and Jewiſh merchants, whoſe intereſt was in a peculiar manner connected with the ſafety of the Bank, exerted themſelves for its ſupport; and the Directors having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital ſtock, were enabled to anſwer all the demands of the timorous and diſaffected. All the noblemen and perſons of diſtinction in Scotland, ſuſpected of an attachment to the Court of St. Germain's, were apprehended, and either impriſoned in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate. Among theſe was the Duke of Hamilton, who found means to make his peace with

Burchet. Hare. Boyer. Lockhart. Feuquieres Daniel. Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough. Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough. Friend. Burchet. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

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with the Whig miniſters; and, in a little time, the other priſoners were admitted to bail *.

§ XXXIII. On the firſt day of April, the Parliament was prorogued, and afterwards diſſolved by proclamation. Writs were iſſued out for new elections, together with a proclamation, commanding all the Peers of North-Britain to aſſemble at Holyrood-houſe in Edinburgh, on the ſeventeenth day of June, to elect ſixteen Peers to repreſent them in the enſuing Britiſh Parliament, purſuant to the twenty-ſecond article of the treaty of Union. After the diſſolution of the Parliament, the Lords Griffin, Cler-

* Three Camiſars, or Proteſtants, from the Cevennois, having made their eſcape, and repaired to London, acquired about this time the appellation of French Prophets, from their enthuſiaſtick geſticulations, effuſions, and convulſions; and even formed a ſect of their countrymen. The French Refugees, ſcandalized at their behaviour, and authoriſed by the Biſhop of London, as ſuperior of the French congregations, reſolved to enquire into the miſſion of theſe pretended prophets, whoſe names were Elias Marion, John Cavalier, and Durand Fage. They were declared impoſtors and counterfeits. Notwithſtanding this deciſion, which was confirmed by the Biſhops, they continued their aſſemblies in Soho, under the countenance of Sir Richard Bulkley and John Lacy. They reviled the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church: they denounced judgements againſt the city of London; and the whole Britiſh nation; and publiſhed their predictions, compoſed of unintelligible jargon. Then they were proſecuted at the expence of the French churches, as diſturbers of the publick peace, and falſe prophets. They were ſentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and ſtand twice on a ſcaffold, with papers on their breaſts denoting their offence: a ſentence which was executed accordingly at Charing-Croſs, and the Royal-Exchange.

In the courſe of this year, Mr. Stanhope, who was reſident from the Queen at the Court of Charles, concluded a treaty of commerce with this Monarch, which would have proved extremely advantageous to Great-Britain, had he been firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Spain. It was ſtipulated that the Engliſh merchants ſhould enjoy the privilege of importing all kinds of merchandize from the coaſt of Barbary into the maritime places of Spain, without paying any higher duty than if that merchandize had been the produce of Great-Britain; and that even theſe duties ſhould not be paid till ſix months after the merchandize ſhould be landed and ſold, the merchants giving ſecurity for the cuſtoms. It was agreed that the whole commerce of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies ſhould be carried on by a joint company of Spaniſh and Britiſh merchants; and in the interim, as the greater part of that country was in the hands of Philip, his Competitor conſented that the Britiſh ſubjects ſhould trade freely in all the ports of the Weſt-Indies with ten ſhips of five hundred tons each, under ſuch convoy as her Britannick Majeſty ſhould think fit to appoint.

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mont, two ſons of the Earl of Middleton, and ſeveral Scottiſh and Iriſh officers, who had been taken on board the Saliſbury, were brought to London, and impriſoned in the Tower, or in Newgate. Lord Griffin being attainted by outlawry, for high treaſon committed in the reign of King William, was brought to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, and a rule made for his execution; but he was reprieved from month to month, until he died of a natural death in priſon. The Privy-council of Scotland was diſſolved: the Duke of Queenſberry was created a Britiſh Peer, by the title of Baron of Rippon, Marquis of Beverly, and Duke of Dover; and the office of Secretary at War, vacant by the reſignation of Henry St. John, was beſtowed upon Robert Walpole, a gentleman who had rendered himſelf conſiderable in the Houſe of Commons, and whoſe conduct we ſhall have occaſion to mention more at large in the ſequel. About the ſame time, a proclamation was iſſued for diſtributing prizes, in certain proportions, to the different officers and ſeamen of the Royal Navy; a regulation that ſtill prevails.

§ XXXIV. The French King, not at all diſcouraged by the miſcarriage of his projected invaſion, reſolved to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the laſt campaign; and indeed he made efforts that were altogether incredible, conſidering the conſumptive ſtate of his finances *. He

* Before the opening of the campaign, a very daring enterprize was formed by one Colonel Queintern, a partiſan in the Imperial army. This man laid a ſcheme for carrying off the Dauphin of France from the Court of Verſailles. He ſelected thirty men of approved valour for this undertaking. He procured paſſes for them, and they rendezvouſed in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the twenty-fourth day of March, in the evening, he and his accomplices ſtopped a coach and ſix, with the King's liveries, and arreſted the perſon who was in it, on the ſuppoſition of his being a Prince of the Blood. It was however M. de Berringhen, the King's firſt equerry. This officer they mounted on a ſpare horſe, and ſet out for the Low Countries: but, being little acquainted with the roads, they did not reach Chantilly till next morning, when they heard the Toxen,

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He assembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Vendome, and accompanied by the Duke of Berry and the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria was destined to the command of the troops upon the Rhine, where he was seconded by the Duke of Berwick; and the Mareschal de Villeroy was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphiné. About the latter end of March, the Duke of Marlborough repaired to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugence: these two celebrated Generals conferred with the Pensionary Heinsius, and the Deputies of the States-General. Then they made an excursion to Hanover, where they prevailed upon the Elector to be satisfied with acting upon the defensive in his command on the Rhine, and spare part of his forces, that the confederates might be enabled to make vigorous efforts in the Netherlands. The Prince proceeded to Vienna, and the Duke immediately returned to Flanders, where he assembled the army towards the latter end of May. On the twenty-fifth day of that month, the Duke de Vendome marched to Soignies, and posted himself within three leagues of the confederates, who were encamped at Billinghen and Halle. The Duke of Marlborough having received intelligence that the enemy were on their march by Bois-Seigneur-

Toxen, or Alarm-bell, and thence concluded that detachments were sent out in pursuit of them. Nevertheless, they proceeded boldly, and would certainly have carried the point, had not Queintern halted three hours for the refreshment of his prisoner, who complained of his being indisposed. He likewise procured a chaise, and ordered the back of it to be lowered for his convenience. These acts of humanity retarded him so much, that he was overtaken by a detachment of horse at Ham, within three hours ride of a place of safety. Finding himself surrounded, he thought proper to surrender, and M. de Berringhen treated him with great generosity, for the civilities he had experienced at his hands. He carried him back to Versailles, and lodged him in his own apartments. Madam de Berringhen made him a considerable present; and the King ordered him and his companions to be discharged, on account of the courage and humanity they had displayed.

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Iſaac to Braine-la-Leuwe, concluded their intention was to take poſt on the banks of the Deule, to hinder the Allies from paſſing that river, and to occupy Louvaine. He, therefore, commanded the army to march all night, and on the third day of June encamped at Terbank, General D'Auverquerque fixing his quarters in the ſuburbs of Louvaine, while the French advanced no farther than Genap and Braine-la-Leuwe. As they were more numerous than the Confederates, and headed by a Prince of the Blood, the Generals of the allies at firſt expected that they would hazard a battle: but their ſcheme was to retrieve by ſtratagem the places they had loſt in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria had rendered himſelf extremely popular in the great towns: the Count de Bergeyck, who had conſiderable intereſt among them, was devoted to the Houſe of Bourbon: the inhabitants of the great cities were naturally inconſtant and mutinous, and particularly diſſatisfied with the Dutch government. The French Generals reſolved to profit by theſe circumſtances. A detachment of their troops, under the Brigadiers la Faille and Paſteur, ſurpriſed the city of Ghent, in which there was no garriſon: at the ſame time the Count de la Motte, with a ſtrong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was ſurrendered to him without oppoſition: then he made a fruitleſs attempt upon Damme, and marched to the little fort of Plaſſendhal, which he took by aſſault. The Duke of Marlborough was no ſooner apprized of the enemy's having ſent a ſtrong detachment towards Tubize, then he marched from Terbank, paſſed the canal, and encamped at Anderlech. The French croſſed the Senne at Halle and Tubize, and the Allies reſolved to attack them next morning: but the enemy paſſed the Dender in the night with great expedition; and the Duke of Marlborough next day encamped at Aſche, were he was joined by Prince Eugene, who had marched with a conſiderable reinforcement

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inforcement of Germans from the Moſelle. The enemy underſtanding that this General was on his march, determined to reduce Oudenarde, the only paſs on the Schelde poſſeſſed by the confederates; and inveſted it on the ninth day of July, hoping to ſubdue it before the allies could be reinforced. The Duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and made a ſurpriſing march from Aſche, as far as Herſelingen, where he was joined by the reinforcement. Then he took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Leſſines, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the ſiege of Oudenarde.

§ XXXV. Thus diſappointed, the French Generals altered their reſolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to paſs the Schelde at Gavre. The two Generals of the Confederates were bent upon bringing them to an engagement. Cadogan was ſent with ſixteen battalions and eight ſquadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Schelde below Oudenarde. The army was in motion at eight o'clock, and marched with ſuch expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horſe had reached the bridges over which Cadogan and his detachment were paſſing. The enemy had poſted ſeven battalions in the village of Heynem, ſituated on the banks of the Schelde, and the French houſehold-troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, oppoſite to a body of troops under Major-General Rantzaw, who were poſted behind a rivulet that ran into the river. The Duke de Vendome intended to attack the Confederates when one half of their army ſhould have paſſed the Schelde: but he was thwarted by the Duke of Burgundy, who ſeemed to be perplexed and irreſolute. This Prince had ordered the troops to halt in their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any reſolution; and now he recalled the ſquadrons from the plain, determined to avoid a battle. Vendome remonſtrated againſt this conduct, and the diſpute continued

nued till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the allied army had paſſed the Schelde without oppoſition. Then the Duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement, and Vendome ſubmitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now loſt, and the army unformed. Major-General Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horſe of the King's houſehold, who, finding the rivulet marſhy, refuſed to charge, and retired to the right. Meanwhile Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took with three of the ſeven battalions by which it was guarded. Rantzaw paſſing the rivulet, advanced into the plain, and drove before him ſeveral ſquadrons of the enemy. In this attack the electoral Prince of Hanover, his late Majeſty, George II. charged at the head of Bulau's dragoon's with great intrepidity. His horſe was ſhot under him, and Colonel Laſchky killed by his ſide. Divers French regiments were entirely broken, and a good number of officers and ſtandards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians. The Confederates continued ſtill paſſing the river: but few or none of the infantry were come up till five in the afternoon, when the Duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which immediately ſuſtained a vigourous aſſault from the enemy. By this time the French were drawn up in order of battle; and the Allies being formed as they paſſed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about ſeven in the evening. Europe had not many years produced two ſuch noble armies: above one hundred general officers appeared in the field, and two hundred and fifty Colonels fought at the head of their reſpective regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of the Allies by twelve thouſand: but their Generals were divided; their forces ill-diſpoſed; and the men diſpirited by the uninterrupted ſucceſs of their adverſaries. They ſeemed from the beginning averſe to an engagement, and

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and acted in hurry and trepidation. Nevertheleſs, the action was maintained until General D'Auverquerque and Count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the Allies, obliged the right of the enemy to give ground; and the Prince of Orange, with Count Oxienſtern, attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry. Then they began to give way, and retired in great confuſion. The Duke de Vendome, alighting from his horſe, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. But, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, they were forced back among the encloſures in great confuſion. Some regiments were cut in pieces: others deſired to capitulate; and if the darkneſs had not interpoſed, their whole army would have been ruined. The night coming on, ſo that it became impoſſible to diſtinguiſh friends from enemies, the two Generals ordered the troops to ceaſe firing, and the enemy took this opportunity of eſcaping by the road which leads from Oudenarde to Ghent. The Duke de Vendome ſeeing the French forces flying in the utmoſt terror and precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about five-and-twenty ſquadrons, and as many battalions, with which he ſecured the retreat. To this precaution the ſafety of their army was entirely owing; for at day-break the Duke of Marlborough ſent a large detachment of horſe and foot, under the Lieutenant-Generals Bulau and Lumley, to purſue the fugitives: but the hedges and ditches that ſkirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in ſuch a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to deſiſt. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal. There they thought proper to caſt up entrenchments, upon which they planted their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage.

gage. About three thouſand were ſlain on the field of battle; two thouſand deſerted; and about ſeven thouſand were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above an hundred ſtandards and colours, and four thouſand horſes. The loſs of the allies did not amount to two thouſand men; nor was one officer of diſtinction killed on their ſide during the whole engagement*. After the confederates had reſted two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys: another was ſent to raiſe contributions as far as Arras: they ravaged the country, and ſtruck terror even into the city of Paris. While the allies plundered the Province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the Chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into Dutch-Flanders, broke through the lines of Bervilet, which had been left unguarded, and made a deſcent upon the iſland of Cadſandt, which they laid under contribution. CHAP. IX. 1708.

§ XXXVI. The Generals of the allies now undertook an enterprize, which, in the opinion of the French Generals, ſavoured of raſhneſs and inconſiderate ſelf-ſufficiency. This was the ſiege of Liſle, the ſtrongeſt town in Flanders, provided with all neceſſaries, ſtore of ammunition, and a garriſon reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of the beſt troops in France commanded by Mareſchal de Boufflers in perſon. But theſe were not the principal difficulties which the allies encountered. The enemy had cut off the communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Fan-Ghent; ſo that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Oſtend along a narrow cauſeway, expoſed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they ſat down before Liſle. On the thirteenth of

* Among the officers who were engaged in this battle, old General D'Auverquerque and the Duke of Argyle diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the moſt extraordinary valour and activity.

BOOK I. 1708. August it was invested on one side by Prince Eugene, and on the other by the Prince of Orange-Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland; while the Duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the twenty-second day of August, and carried on with that vigour and alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome being now joined by the Duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and counter-marches for this purpose. Marlborough being apprised of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus King of Poland, and the Landgrave of Hesse, as volunteers: but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an entrenchment. On the seventh day of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French Generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the Duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle: but their design was only to harrass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprize the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants: but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. Then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong entrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon; so that now all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend. On the twenty-first day of September, Prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgement they had made on the counterscarp of the Tenaille, rallied

and

and led them back to the charge: but being wounded over the left eye with a muſket-ſhot, he was obliged to retire, and for ſome days the Duke of Marlborough ſuſtained the whole command, both in the ſiege, and of the covering army. On the twenty-third the Tenaille was ſtormed, and a lodgement made along the covered-way. Mareſchal Boufflers having found means to inform the Duke de Vendome that his ammunition was almoſt expended, this General detached the Chevalier de Luxemburgh, with a body of horſe and dragoons, to ſupply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were diſcovered in paſſing through the camp of the allies, and purſued to the barrier of the town, into which about three hundred were admitted: but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miſerably deſtroyed by the exploſion of the powder which they carried. CHAP. IX. 1708.

§ XXXVII. The next attempt of the French Generals was to intercept a convoy from Oſtend. The Count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about two-and-twenty thouſand men, to attack this convoy, which was guarded by ſix thouſand of the allies, commanded by Major-General Webb. This officer made ſuch an admirable diſpoſition by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with ſuch a cloſe fire, that, after a very warm action, that laſted two hours, they retired in the utmoſt confuſion, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority in number, leaving ſix thouſand men killed upon the field of battle; the loſs of the allies not exceeding nine hundred and twelve officers and ſoldiers. This was the moſt honourable exploit performed during the whole war, and of ſuch conſequence to the confederates, that if the convoy had been taken, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed. The Duke de Vendome ordered the dykes between Bruges and Newport to be cut, ſo as to lay the whole country under water,

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in hopes of deſtroying the communication between Oſtend and the camp of the confederates; and, after a regular ſiege, he took Colonel Caulfield, and a body of Britiſh troops poſted in the village of Leſſinghen, by whoſe means the convoys had been forwarded to the Duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-ſecond of October, Mareſchal Boufflers deſired to capitulate for the town of Liſle: next day the articles were ſigned: on the twenty-fifth the allies took poſſeſſion of the place, and the Mareſchal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garriſon, which, from twelve thouſand, was reduced to leſs than the half of that number. A negociation was begun for the ſurrender of the citadel: but Boufflers made ſuch extravagant demands as were rejected with diſdain. Hoſtilities were renewed on the twenty-ninth day of the month: and the Earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the diſtricts of Furnes and Dixmude. During theſe tranſactions, Velt-Mareſchal D'Auverquerque died at Rouſſelaer, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, after having, in above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The Duke de Vendome did not deſpair of obliging the confederates to abandon their enterprize: the French miniſters at Rome and Venice publickly declared the allied army was cooped up in ſuch a manner, that it muſt either raiſe the ſiege or be famiſhed. The Elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thouſand men, marched to Bruſſels, and attacked the counterſcarp with incredible fury; but was repulſed by the garriſon, under the command of General Paſchal, and retired with precipitation, when he underſtood that the Duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and Prince Eugene no ſooner underſtood the danger to which Bruſſels was expoſed, than they marched with the covering army to the Schelde, which they paſſed in pontoons without

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out oppoſition, notwithſtanding the formidable works which the French had raiſed. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the ſurprize of the confederates, who had laid their account with the loſs of a thouſand men in the attack. Having paſſed the river between Eſkenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the Elector had retreated. Then Prince Eugene returned to Liſle, and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Bruſſels, where he was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took poſt at Oudenarde, ſo as to maintain a communication with Prince Eugene.

§ XXXVIII. The beſiegers having made lodgements and raiſed batteries on the ſecond counterſcarp of the citadel, ſent a meſſage to Boufflers, intimating, that if he would ſurrender before the opening of the batteries, he ſhould have an honourable capitulation; otherwiſe he and his garriſon muſt be made priſoners of war. He choſe to avoid the laſt part of the alternative: hoſtages were exchanged on the eighth day of December, and the articles ſigned on the tenth; when the Mareſchal and his garriſon marched out with the honours of war, and were conducted to Douay. In this great enterprize, ſpirit and perſeverance made amends for want of foreſight and ſkill, which was flagrant on the ſide of the confederates; yet their ſucceſs was owing in a great meaſure to the improvidence and miſconduct of the beſieged. The French Generals never dreamed that the allies would attempt any thing of conſequence after the reduction of Liſle, conſidering the advanced ſeaſon of the year, and therefore they returned to Paris, after having diſtributed their army into winter-quarters. But their indefatigable antagoniſts were determined to ſtrike another ſtroke of importance before their forces ſhould ſeparate. On the twentieth day of December they inveſted the city of Ghent on all ſides; and on the thirtieth, when the

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batteries were ready to open, the Count de la Motte, who commanded the garriſon, deſired to capitulate. On the third day of the next month he marched out with thirty battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons, which were conducted to Tournay; while the Duke of Argyle, with ſix Britiſh battalions, took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plaſſendahl, and Leffengen; and the Generals of the allies, having ſettled the plan of winter-quarters, repaired to Holland, leaving the forces under the command of Count Tilly. The French King was confounded and diſmayed at theſe conqueſts in the Netherlands. Nor was he eaſy on the ſide of Dauphiné: in ſpite of all the vigilance and activity of Villars, the Duke of Savoy made himſelf maſter of the important fortreſſes of Exilles, La Perouſe, the valley of St. Martin, and Feneſtrells; ſo that by the end of the campaign he had ſecured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, after having made a diverſion in favour of King Charles, by obliging the enemy to ſend a ſtrong detachment from Rouſillon to the aſſiſtance of Villars.

§ XXXIX. The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the laſt day of April: but the Imperial troops brought from Italy by Admiral Leake did not land in time to relieve Tortoſa, which the Duke of Orleans beſieged and took, together with Denia, the garriſon of which were made priſoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. Theſe loſſes, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conqueſt of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the Marquis D'Alconzel, ſet ſail for Cagliari, and ſummoned the Viceroy to ſubmit to King Charles. As he did not ſend an immediate anſwer, the Admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled

pelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion. The greater part of the garriſon inliſted themſelves in the ſervice of Charles. The Deputies of the States being aſſembled by the Marquis D'Alconzel, acknowledged that Prince as their Sovereign, and agreed to furniſh his army with thirty thouſand ſacks of corn, which were accordingly tranſported to Catalonia, where there was a great ſcarcity of proviſion. Major-General Stanhope having planned the conqueſt of Minorca, and concerted with the Admiral the meaſures neceſſary to put it in execution, obtained from Count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portugueze: at the head of theſe he embarked at Barcelona with a fine train of Britiſh artillery, accompanied by Brigadier Wade and Colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the iſland about ten miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thouſand. Next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be ſhot into a place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spaniſh and French languages, containing threats, that all the garriſon ſhould be ſent to the mines, if they would not ſurrender before the batteries were finiſhed. The garriſon conſiſted of a thouſand Spaniards and ſix hundred French marines, commanded by Colonel la Jonquire, who imagined that the number of the beſiegers amounted to at leaſt ten thouſand, ſo artfully had they been drawn up in ſight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demoliſhed four towers that ſerved as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which Brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers ſtormed a redoubt, with ſuch extraordinary valour as ſtruck the beſieged with conſternation. On the ſecond or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on

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§ XL. The Britiſh fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewiſe over-awed the Pope, who had endeavoured to form a league of the Princes in Italy againſt the Emperor. This Pontiff had manifeſted his partiality to the Houſe of Bourbon in ſuch a palpable manner, that his Imperial Majeſty ordered Monſieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by thoſe belonging to the Duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took poſſeſſion of Comachio and ſome other places, pretending they were allodial eſtates belonging to the Duke of Modena, and fiefs of the Emperor, to which the Holy See had no lawful claim. The Viceroy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome; and the Council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, con-

containing the pretenſions of his Catholick Majeſty, which ſtruck at the very foundation of the Pope's temporal power. His Holineſs wrote a long remonſtrance to the emperor, on the injuſtice of thoſe proceedings, and declared that he would aſſert this cauſe though he ſhould loſe his life in the conteſt. He forthwith began to raiſe an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the Princes and States of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita-Vecchia, in reſentment for the Pope's having countenanced the Pretender's expedition to Great-Britain: but as the Emperor and Duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the court of Rome, they prevailed upon the Engliſh Admiral to ſuſpend hoſtilities until they ſhould have tried the method of negociation. The Marquis de Prie, a Piedmonteſe nobleman, was ſent as Ambaſſador to Rome; but the Pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promiſes of France, he ſet the Emperor at defiance; and his troops having ſurpriſed a body of Imperialiſts, were ſo barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The Duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops of the Emperor, which had ſerved under that Prince, were ordered to march into the Papal territories, and drove the forces of his Holineſs before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated; and Rome began to tremble with the apprehenſion of being once more ſacked by a German army. Then the Pope's courage failed; he was glad to admit the Marquis de Prie as Envoy from the Emperor. He conſented to diſband his new levies; to accommodate the Imperial troops with winter-quarters in the Papal territories; to grant the inveſtiture of Naples to King Charles; and to allow at all times a paſſage to the Imperial troops through his dominions. On the Upper Rhine the Electors of Bavaria and Hanover were ſo weak, that they could not undertake any thing

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thing of conſequence againſt each other. In Hungary the diſputes ſtill continued between the Emperor and the malcontents. Poland was at length delivered from the oppreſſion exerciſed by the King of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine againſt the Czar of Muſcovy, notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſion with which that Monarch endeavoured to appeaſe his indignation. During the courſe of this year the Engliſh merchants ſuſtained no conſiderable loſſes by ſea: the cruiſers were judiciouſly ſtationed, and the trade was regularly ſupplied with convoys. In the Weſt Indies Commodore Wager deſtroyed the Admiral of the galleons, and took the Rear-Admiral on the coaſt of Carthagena. Had the officers of his ſquadron done their duty, the greateſt part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his Captains were tried by a court-martial, and diſmiſſed from the ſervice.

§ XLI. The Court of England was about this time not a little diſquieted, by the conſequences of an outrage committed on the perſon of the Count de Matueof the Muſcovite Ambaſſador. He was publickly arreſted at the ſuit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to priſon, where he continued until he was bailed by the Earl of Feverſham. Incenſed at this inſult, he demanded redreſs of the Government, and was ſeconded in his remonſtrances by the miniſters of the Emperor, the King of Pruſſia and ſeveral other foreign potentates. The Queen expreſſed uncommon indignation againſt the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and orders were given to proſecute them with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law. Matueof repeated his complaints with great acrimony; and Mr. Secretary Boyle aſſured him, in the Queen's name, that he ſhould have ample ſatisfaction. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance, he demanded a paſs for himſelf and family; refuſed the ordinary preſents at his departure; and retired to Holland. From thence

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Published according to Act of Parliament May 10th 1790 by T. Cadell & R. Baldwin.

thence he tranſmitted a memorial, with a letter from the Czar to the Queen, inſiſting upon her puniſhing with death all the perſons concerned in violating the law of nations upon the perſon of his Ambaſſador. Such puniſhment being altogether inconſiſtent with the laws of England, the Queen and her miniſtry were extremely perplexed, and held ſeveral councils, to deliberate upon the meaſures proper to be taken on ſuch an occaſion. On the twenty-eighth day of October, Prince George of Denmark died of an aſthma and dropſy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a Prince of an amiable rather than a ſhining character, brave, good-natured, modeſt, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the Queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and eſpecially in his laſt illneſs, approved herſelf a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderneſs. At his death the Earl of Pembroke was created Lord High-Admiral, the Earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and Lord Somers appointed Preſident of the Council. Notwithſtanding theſe promotions of the Whig noblemen, the Duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the Queen, who privately conſulted and repoſed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no viſible concern in the adminiſtration.

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§ XLII. The new Parliament, in which the Whig intereſt ſtill preponderated, was aſſembled on the ſixteenth day of November, when they were given to underſtand, by a commiſſion under the great-ſeal, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Steward, and the Maſter of the Horſe, were appointed to repreſent the perſon of her Majeſty, whom decency would not permit to appear in the Houſe ſo ſoon after the death of her conſort. Sir Richard Onſlow being choſen Speaker of the Lower Houſe with the Queen's approbation, the Chancellor, in a ſpeech to both

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both Houſes, recommended the vigorous proſecution of the war, telling them her Majeſty hoped they would enable her to make a conſiderable augmentation for preſerving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that ſhe deſired they would prepare ſuch bills as might confirm and render the Union effectual; and that if they would propoſe means for the advancement of trade and manufacture, ſhe would take pleaſure in enacting ſuch proviſions. Both Houſes having preſented addreſſes of condolance and congratulation, on the death of Prince George, and the ſucceſs of her Majeſty's arms during the laſt campaign, the Commons took cognizance of controverted elections, which were decided with ſhameful partiality for the Whig faction. Then they proceeded to conſider the different branches of the ſupply: they approved of an augmentation of ten thouſand men, which was judged neceſſary for the more vigorous proſecution of the war; and they voted above ſeven millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The Bank agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thouſand pounds in Exchequer bills for the government, on condition that the term of their continuance ſhould be prolonged for one-and-twenty years; and that their ſtock of two millions two hundred and one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-one pounds ſhould be doubled by a new ſubſcription. The two-thirds ſubſidy was appropriated for the intereſt of the money raiſed by this expedient.

§ XLIII. Great debates having ariſen about Scottiſh elections, the Houſe conſidered the petitions and repreſentation that were delivered, touching the incapacity of the eldeſt ſons of Scottiſh Peers, excluded from ſitting in the Parliament of Great-Britain. Counſel being heard upon the ſubject, that incapacity was confirmed: and new writs were iſſued, that new members might be elected for the ſhires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William Lord

Lord Haddo, and James Lord Johnſtown. Peti- CHAP. IX. 1708.
tions were likewiſe preſented to the Houſe of Lords by ſome Scottiſh Peers, concerning their right of voting, and ſigning proxies. After warm debates, the Houſe, upon a diviſion, determined that a Scottiſh Lord created a Peer of Great-Britain ſhould no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were in the caſtle of Edinburgh had a right to ſign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government. The Scottiſh Peers and Commoners that ſat in the Britiſh Parliament were divided into two factions. The Duke of Queenſberry was in great credit with the Queen and the Lord-Treaſurer, by whoſe intereſt he was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. His influence in elections was ſo great, that all officers in that kingdom were beſtowed according to his recommendation. He was oppoſed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Montroſe, and Roxburgh, who were ſupported by the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Somers; ſo that the whole intereſt in that country was engroſſed by one or other member of the miniſtry. A bill for a general naturalization of all Proteſtants was brought into the Houſe, and notwithſtanding violent oppoſition from the Tories, both among the Lords and Commons, was enacted into a law. The Whigs argued for this bill, as a meaſure that would encourage induſtry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waſte of men which the war had occaſioned: but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance againſt the landed intereſt. The Tories pleaded that a conflux of aliens might prove dangerous to the conſtitution: that they would retain a fondneſs for their native countries, and, in times of war, act as ſpies and enemies: that they would inſinuate themſelves into places of truſt and profit; become members of Parliament; and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the Engliſh race: that they

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would add to the number of the poor, already ſo expenſive; and ſhare the bread of the labourers and tradeſmen of England.

§ XLIV. An enquiry being ſet on foot in both Houſes, concerning the late intended invaſion in Scotland, Lord Haverſham and the other Tory members endeavoured to demonſtrate, that proper precautions had not been taken for the ſecurity of that kingdom, even after the miniſtry had received undoubted intelligence of the Pretender's deſign: that ſince the attempt had miſcarried, many perſons of quality had been apprehended, and ſeverely uſed by the government, on pretended ſuſpicion of high treaſon; though in all probability, the aim of the miniſtry, in confining thoſe perſons, was to remove all poſſibility of their oppoſing the Court at the enſuing elections for members of Parliament. Theſe aſſertions were ſupported by many inconteſted facts and ſhrewd arguments, notwithſtanding which, the majority were ſo little diſpoſed to find fault, that the enquiry iſſued in a joint addreſs to the Queen, containing reſolutions, That timely and effectual care had been taken to diſappoint the deſigns of her Majeſty's enemies, both at home and abroad. A bill, however was brought into the Houſe of Lords, under the title of "An Act for improving the Union "of the two kingdoms." It related to trials for treaſon in Scotland, which by this law were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with ſome ſmall variation. The Scottiſh members oppoſed it as an encroachment upon the form of their laws; and they were joined by thoſe who had laid it down as a maxim to oppoſe all the Court meaſures: nevertheleſs, the bill paſſed through both Houſes, and received the Royal Aſſent. Yet, in order to ſweeten this unpalatable medicine, the Queen conſented to an act of grace, by which all treaſons were pardoned, except thoſe committed on the high-ſeas: an exception levelled at thoſe who had

embarked with the Pretender. Major-General Webb, who had been defrauded of his due honour, in a partial repreſentation of the battle of Wynendale, tranſmitted by Cardonnel, Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, was now thanked by the Houſe of Commons for the great and eminent ſervices which he had performed in that engagement. This motion was made by the Tories; and the Whigs did not fail to procure a compliment of the ſame Nature to the Duke of Marlborough, even before he returned to England. When the news of Ghent's being taken arrived, the Lords and Commons congratulated the Queen on this laſt effort of a glorious campaign; and the Duke, at his arrival, was thanked, in the name of the Peers, by the Lord Chancellor. As he was ſuppoſed to have brought over propoſals of peace, the two Houſes, in an addreſs, deſired the Queen would inſiſt on the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a neſt of pirates that infeſted the ocean, and did infinite prejudice to the commerce of England. The Queen promiſed to comply with their requeſt. But ſhe was not a little ſurpriſed at the next addreſs they preſented, humbly entreating, that ſhe would have ſuch indulgence to the hearty deſires of her ſubjects, as to entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage. She told them, that the proviſion ſhe had made for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion would always be a proof how much ſhe had at heart the future happineſs of the kingdom; but the ſubject of this addreſs was of ſuch a nature, that ſhe was perſuaded they did not expect a particular anſwer.

Burnet. Daniel. Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough. Mil. Hiſt. Tindal. Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough. Feuquieres Quincy Lives of the Admirals. Hare. Voltaire.

§ XLV. The laws having been found inſufficient to puniſh capitally the authors of the inſult offered to the Muſcovite Ambaſſador, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons for preſerving the privileges of Ambaſſadors and other foreign Miniſters; and paſſed through both houſes: as did another, to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the publick,

a prac-

BOOK I. 1708. a practice which had been carried to a degree of infatuation; and by which many unwary perſons fell a ſacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the fourteenth day of March the Commons voted the ſum of one hundred and three thouſand two hundred and three pounds, for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, who had ſuffered by the late
An. 1709. invaſion: and on the twenty-firſt day of April the Parliament was prorogued. The Muſcovite Ambaſſador continued to write expoſtulatory letters to Mr. Secretary Boyle, who at laſt owned, that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of ſuch puniſhment as he demanded. An information was tried in the Court of King's-Bench for her Majeſty againſt Thomas Morton, laceman, and thirteen other perſons concerned in the inſult, of which they were found guilty; and the ſpecial matter of the privileges of Ambaſſadors was to be argued next term before the Judges. Meanwhile, the Queen, by way of ſatisfaction to the Czar, condeſcended to make ſolemn excuſes by her Ambaſſador; to repair Matueof's honour by a letter, and indemnify him for all his coſts and damages: conceſſions with which the Czar and his Ambaſſador declared themſelves well ſatisfied. The convocation had been ſummoned, choſen, and returned with the new Parliament: but as the old ſpirit was ſuppoſed to prevail in the Lower Houſe, the Queen, by writ to the Archbiſhop ordered him to prorogue it from time to time, until the Seſſion of Parliament was finiſhed.

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CHAP. X.

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§ I. THE French King was by this time reduced to ſuch a ſtate of humiliation by the loſſes of the laſt campaign, and a ſevere winter, which completed the miſery of his ſubjects, that he reſolved to ſacrifice all the conſiderations of pride and ambition, as well as the intereſt of his Grandſon, to his deſire of peace, which was now become ſo neceſſary and indiſpenſible. He diſpatched the Preſident Rouillé privately to Holland, with general propoſals of peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the States-General, ſtill entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy. This miniſter conferred in ſecret with Buys and Vanderduſſen, the Penſionaries of Amſterdam and Gouda, at Moerdyke, from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht. The States immediately communicated his propoſals to the Courts of Vienna and Great-Britain. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague in April, and conferred with the Grand Penſionary Heinſius, Buys, and Vanderduſſen, on the ſubject of the French propoſals, which were deemed unſatisfactory. Rouillé immediately diſpatched a courier to Paris, for further inſtructions; and

and the Duke of Marlborough returned to England, to make the Queen acquainted with the progreſs of the negociation. Louis, in order to convince the States of his ſincerity, ſent the Marquis de Torcy, his ſecretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with freſh offers, to which the Deputies would make no anſwer until they knew the ſentiments of the Queen of Great-Britain. The Duke of Marlborough croſſed the ſeas a ſecond time, accompanied by the Lord Viſcount Townſhend, as ambaſſador extraordinary, and joint-plenipotentiary: Prince Eugene being likewiſe at the Hague, the conferences were begun. The French Miniſter declared that his Maſter would conſent to the demolition of Dunkirk: that he would abandon the Pretender, and diſmiſs him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the Queen's title and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion: that he would renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States-General demanded for their barrier: that he would treat with the Emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryſwick, and even demoliſh the fortifications of Straſburgh. The miniſters of the Allies, rendered proud and wanton by ſucceſs, and ſeeing their own private intereſt in the continuation of the war, inſiſted upon the reſtitution of the Upper and Lower Alſace to the Empire; upon the French Monarch's reſtoring Straſburgh in its preſent condition; upon his ceding the town and caſtellany of Liſle, demoliſhing Dunkirk, New Briſac, Fort-Louis, and Hunningen. In a word, their demands were ſo inſolent, that Louis would not have ſuffered them to be mentioned in his hearing, had not he been reduced to the laſt degree of diſtreſs. One can hardly read them without feeling a ſentiment of compaſſion for that monarch, who had once given law to Europe, and been ſo long accuſtomed to victory and conqueſt. Notwithſtanding the diſcouraging diſpatches he had

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received from the Preſident Rouillé, after his firſt conferences with the Deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be ſo blind to their own intereſt, as to reject the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered. He could not conceive that they would chooſe to bear the burthen of exceſſive taxes in proſecuting a war, the events of which would always be uncertain, rather than enjoy the bleſſings of peace, ſecurity, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himſelf, that the Allies would not ſo far deviate from their purpoſed aim of eſtabliſhing a balance of power, as to throw ſuch an enormous weight into the ſcale of the Houſe of Auſtria, which cheriſhed all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary principles, without the liberality of ſentiment peculiar to the Houſe of Bourbon. In proportion as they roſe in their demands, Louis fell in his condeſcenſion. His ſecretary of ſtate, the Marquis de Torcy, poſted in diſguiſe to Holland, on the faith of a common blank paſſport. He ſolicited, he ſoothed, he ſupplicated, and made conceſſions in the name of his ſovereign. He found the States were wholly guided by the influence of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. He found theſe Generals elated, haughty, overbearing, and implacable. He in private attacked the Duke of Marlborough on his weakeſt ſide: he offered to that nobleman, a large ſum of money, provided he would effect a peace on certain conditions. The propoſal was rejected. The Duke found his enemies in England increaſing, and his credit at Court in the wane; and he knew that nothing but a continuation of the war, and new victories, could ſupport his influence in England. Torcy was ſenſible that his country was utterly exhauſted: that Louis dreaded nothing ſo much as the opening of the campaign; and he agreed to thoſe articles upon which they inſiſted as preliminaries. The French King was confounded at theſe propoſals: he felt the complicated

pangs

pangs of grief, ſhame, and indignation. He re- CHAP. jected the preliminaries with diſdain. He even X. deigned to ſubmit his conduct to the judgment of 1709. his ſubjects. His offers were publiſhed, together with the demands of the Allies. His people intereſted themſelves in the glory of their monarch. They exclaimed againſt the cruelty and arrogance of his enemies. Though impoveriſhed and half-ſtarved by the war, they reſolved to expend their whole ſubſtance in his ſupport: and rather to fight his battles without pay, than leave him in the dire neceſſity of complying with ſuch diſhonourable terms. Animated by theſe ſentiments, they made ſuch efforts as amazed the whole world. The preliminaries being rejected by the French King, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours; and the Generals of the Confederates reſolved to open the campaign without further heſitation.

II. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Liſle, to the number of one hundred and ten thouſand fighting men. At the ſame time, the Mareſchal Villars, accounted the moſt fortunate general in France, aſſembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up entrenchments. The Confederate Generals having obſerved his ſituation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs, reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Tournay, the garriſon of which Villars had imprudently weakened. Accordingly, they made a feint upon Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy, and convert all their attention to that ſide, while they ſuddenly inveſted Tournay on the twenty-ſeventh day of June. Though the garriſon did not exceed twelve weakened battalions, and four ſquadrons of dragoons, the place was ſo ſtrong, both by art and nature, and Lieutenant de Surville, the go-

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vernor, poſſeſſed ſuch admirable talents, that the ſiege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the Allies, and coſt them a great number of men, notwithſtanding all the precautions that could be taken for the ſafety of the troops. As the beſiegers proceeded by the method of ſap, their miners frequently met with thoſe of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and piſtol. The volunteers on both ſides preſented themſelves to theſe ſubterraneous combats, in the midſt of mines and countermines ready primed for exploſion. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and ſometimes ſprung by deſign; ſo that great numbers of thoſe brave men were ſtifled below, and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbiſh. On the twenty-eighth day of July, the beſiegers having affected a practicable breach, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was ſurrendered upon conditions, and the garriſon retired to the citadel. Surville likewiſe entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel: the articles being ſent to the Court of Verſailles, Louis would not ratify them, except upon condition that there ſhould be a general ceſſation in the Netherlands till the fifth day of September. Hoſtilities were renewed on the eighth day of Auguſt, and proſecuted with uncommon ardour and animoſity. On the thirtieth, Surville deſired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the Duke of Marlborough, who gave him to underſtand that he had no terms to expect, but muſt ſurrender at diſcretion. At length, his proviſion being quite exhauſted, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the Allies ſhould be releaſed.

§ III. The next object that attracted the eyes of the Confederates was the city of Mons, which they reſolved

reſolved to beſiege with all poſſible expedition. They paſſed the Schelde on the third day of September, and detached the Prince of Heſſe to attack the French lines from the Haiſne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the ſeventh day of September, Mareſchal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his ſuperior in point of ſeniority. The Duke of Marlborough having received advice that the French were on their march to attack the advanced body under the Prince of Heſſe, decamped from Havre, in order to ſupport that detachment. On the ninth the Allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought ſo near each other, that a mutual cannonading enſued. The Frency army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, were poſted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The Confederates, nearly of the ſame number encamped with the right ner Sart and Bleron, and left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere; the head-quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, inſtead of attacking the Allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally ſtrong, with triple entrenchments. In a word, they were ſo covered with lines, hedges, entrenchments, cannon, and trees laid acroſs, that they ſeemed to be quite inacceſſible. Had the Confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been ſo bloody, and the victory would have proved more deciſive; for they had not then begun to ſecure the camp: but Marlborough poſtponed the engagement until they ſhould be reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the ſiege of Tournay; and, in the mean time, the French fortified themſelves with incredible diligence and diſpatch. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the Confederates, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the

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centre: and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty ſix battalions on the right, commanded by General Schuylemburgh, the Duke of Argyle, and other generals, and ſupported by two-and-twenty battalions under Count Lottum attacked the left of the enemy with ſuch vigour, that notwithſtanding their lines and barricadoes, they were in leſs than an hour driven from their entrenchments, into the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The Prince of Orange and Baron Fagel, with ſix-and-thirty Dutch battalions, advanced againſt the right of the enemy, poſted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three entrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the moſt deſperate courage on both ſides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the firſt entrenchment; but were repulſed from the ſecond with great ſlaughter. The Prince of Orange perſiſted in his efforts with incredible perſeverance and intrepidity, even after two horſes had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either ſlain or diſabled. The French fought with an obſtinacy of courage that bordered on deſpair, till ſeeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general, Villars, dangerouſly wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took poſt between Queſnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle they abandoned to the Confederates, with about forty colours and ſtandards, ſixteen pieces of artillery, and a good number of priſoners: but this was the deareſt victory the Allies had ever purchaſed. About twenty thouſand of their beſt troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not loſe half the number, and retired at leiſure, perfectly recovered of that apprehenſion with which they had been for ſome years inſpired and over-awed by the ſucceſſes of their adverſaries. On the ſide of the Allies, Count Lottum, General Tettau, Count Oxienſtern, and the Marquis of Tullibardine were killed,

killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: Lieutenant-General Webb received a shot in the groin. The Duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valour, escaped unhurt; but several musket-balls penetrated through his clothes, hat, and perriwig. In the French army, the Chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The Mareschal de Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the Confederates would certainly have been defeated. CHAP. X. 1709.

§ IV. Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the Duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the Court of Great-Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had entrenched themselves; but Prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay. The extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the Prince of Orange, whose aim through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the States-General, by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Valenciennes, the Allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October; and both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp action, between a detachment of the French army commanded by the Count de Borgh, and a body of troops under Count Merci, who had passed the Rhine, in order to penetrate into Franche-compté. The Imperial officer was worsted in this encounter,

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counter, with the loſs of two thouſand men; obliged to repaſs the river, and retired to Fribourg. In Piedmont, Velt-Mareſchal Thaun commanded the Confederates, in the room of the Duke of Savoy, who refuſed to take the field until ſome differences, which had ariſen between the Emperor and him, ſhould be adjuſted. Thaun's deſign was to beſiege Briancon: but the Duke of Berwick had taken ſuch precautions as fruſtrated his intention, though part of the troops under the French General were employed in ſuppreſſing an inſurrection of the Camiſars, and other malcontents in the Vivarez. Theſe were entirely defeated in a pitched battle; and Abraham, one of their leaders, being taken, was broke alive upon the wheel; three-and-twenty were hanged, and the other priſoners ſent to the gallies. The Pope delayed acknowledging King Charles, under various pretences, in hopes that the campaign would prove favourable to the Houſe of Bourbon; till at length the Emperor giving him to underſtand that his army ſhould take up their winter-quarters in the Eccleſiaſtical State, his Holineſs ſolemnly owned Charles as King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

§ V. The military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavourable to the Allies. On the ſeventh of May, the Portugueſe and Engliſh were defeated at Caya, by the Spaniards, under the command of the Mareſchal de Bay. The caſtle of Alicant, guarded by two Engliſh regiments, had been beſieged, and held out during the whole winter. At length the Chevalier d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined, and having lodged two hundred barrels of gunpowder, gave Syburg, the governor, to underſtand, that two of his offers might come out and ſee the condition of the works. This officer being accepted, Asfeld in perſon accompanied them to the mine: he told them he could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing ſo many brave men periſh in the ruins of a place they had ſo gallantly defended; and allowed

allowed them four-and-twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances; and, with an obstinacy that favoured more of stupidity than of valour, determined to stand the explosion. When the centinels that were posted on the side of the hill gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed, and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, Colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whitaker sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then General Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, General Staremberg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He passed the Segra, and reduced Balaguer: having left a strong garrison in the place, he repassed the river, and sent his forces into winter-quarters. The most remarkable event of this summer was the battle of Poultowa, in which the King of Sweden was entirely defeated by the Czar of Muscovy, and obliged to take refuge at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions. Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if it had been the effect of compulsion. He formed a project with the kings of Denmark and Prussia, to attack the Swedish territories in three different places: but the Emperor and maritime powers prevented

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vented the execution of this ſcheme, by entering into a gurantee for preſerving the peace of the empire. Nevertheleſs, the King of Denmark declared war againſt Sweden, and tranſported an army over the Sound of Schonen; but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to re-embark with the utmoſt precipitation. The war ſtill continued to rage in Hungary, where, however, the revolters were routed in many petty engagements.

§ VI. Though the event of the ſummer had been leſs unfavourable to France than Louis had reaſon to expect, he ſaw that peace was as neceſſary as ever to his kingdom; but he thought he might now treat with ſome freedom and dignity. His miniſter, Torcy, maintained a correſpondence with Mr. Petkum, reſident of the Duke of Holſtein at the Hague: he propoſed to this miniſter, that the negociation ſhould be renewed; and demanded paſſes, by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might repair in ſafety to Holland. In the mean time, the French King withdrew his troops from Spain, on pretence of demonſtrating his readineſs to oblige the Allies in that particular; though this meaſure was the effect of neceſſity, which obliged him to recal thoſe troops for the defence of his own dominions. The States-General refuſed to grant paſſes to the French Miniſters; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Verſailles. In the interim King Philip publiſhed a manifeſto, proteſting againſt all that ſhould be tranſacted at the Hague to his prejudice. Far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from thoſe places that were now in his poſſeſſion. He named the Duke of Alba, and Count Bergheyck for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers: but no regard was paid to their intimation. Philip tampered likewiſe with the Duke of Marlborough; and the Marquis de Torcy renewed

newed his attempts upon that general: but all his application and addreſs proved ineffectual. Petkum brought back from Verſailles a kind of memorial, importing, That thoſe motives which influenced the French, before the campaign was opened, no longer ſubſiſted: That the winter ſeaſon naturally produced a ceſſation of arms, during which he would treat of a general and reaſonable peace, without reſtricting himſelf to the form of the preliminaries which the Allies had pretended to impoſe: That, nevertheleſs, he would ſtill treat on the foundation of thoſe conditions to which he had conſented, and ſend plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with thoſe of the Allies on the firſt day of January. The States-General inveighed againſt this memorial, as a proof of the French King's inſincerity; though he certainly had a right to retract thoſe offers they had formerly rejected. They came to a reſolution, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to proſecute the war with vigour; and they wrote preſſing letters on the ſubject to all their Allies. CHAP. X. 1709.

§ VII. The Parliament of Great-Britain being aſſembled on the fifteenth day of November, the Queen in her ſpeech told both Houſes, That the enemy had endeavoured, by falſe appearances and deceitful inſinuations of a deſire after peace, to create jealouſies among the Allies: That God Almighty had been pleaſed to bleſs the arms of the Confederates with a moſt remarkable victory, and other ſucceſſes, which had laid France open to the impreſſion of the allied arms, and conſequently rendered peace more neceſſary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign. She inſiſted upon the expediency of proſecuting the advantages ſhe had gained, by reducing that exorbitant and oppreſſive power which had ſo long threatened the liberties of Europe. The Parliament were as eager and compliant as ever. They preſented congratulatory addreſſes: they thanked the Duke of Marlborough

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borough for his signal services; while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives to his own private interest and reputation. In less than a month, the Commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous supply. On the thirteenth day of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the late Archbishop of York, complained to the House of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, as containing positions contrary to Revolution principles, to the present government, and the Protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of High-churchmen; and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the Dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the Judges; on the fifth day of November in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance: inveighed against the toleration and Dissenters; declared the Church was dangerously attacked by her enemies; and slightly defended by her false friends: he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Garrard, the lord-mayor, countenanced this harrangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the Tories and circulated all over the nation. The Complaint of Mr. Dolben against Sacheverel was seconded in the House of Commons by Sir Peter King, and other members. The most violent paragraphs were read: the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel, being brought to the bar of the House, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the

the lord-mayor to print that which was intitled, "The Perils of False Brethren." Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him such encouragement. The Doctor being ordered to withdraw, the House resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody. At the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved That the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, for having often justified the principles on which her Majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, had justly merited the favour and recommendation of the House; and they presented an address to the Queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly, for his eminent service both to the church and state. The Queen returned a civil answer, though she paid no regard to their recommendation. Hoadly was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor of London, had demonstrated the lawfulness of resisting wicked and cruel governors; and vindicated the late Revolution. By avowing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the High-churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion. Many books were written against the maxims he professed. These he answered; and in the course of the controversy, acquitted himself with superior temper, judgment, and solidity of argument. He, as well as Bishop Burnet, and several other prelates, had been treated with great virulence in Sacheverel's sermon; and the Lord-Treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

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§ VIII. The Doctor being impeached at the bar of the Upper-Houſe, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refuſed, and the Commons ſeemed bent upon proſecuting him with ſuch ſeverity as gave diſguſt to men of moderate principles. Meanwhile the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a deſign to pull down the Church; and that this proſecution was intended to try their ſtrength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. Theſe aſſertions were ſupported, and even credited by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emiſſaries were employed to raiſe a ferment among the populace, already prepared with diſcontent, ariſing from a ſcarcity which prevailed in almoſt every country of Europe. The miniſters magnified the dangers to which the Church was expoſed, from Diſſenters, Whigs, and lukewarm Prelates. Theſe they repreſented as the authors of a ruinous war, which in a little time would produce univerſal famine; and as the immediate encouragers of thoſe Palatine refugees who had been brought over, to the number of ſix thouſand, and maintained by voluntary contributions until they could be conveniently tranſported into Ireland, and the plantations in America. The charity beſtowed upon thoſe unhappy ſtrangers exaſperated the poor of England, who felt ſeverely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the meaſure of popular diſcontent. The articles againſt Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his perſon was committed to the Deputy-uſher of the Black Rod; but, afterwards, the Lords admitted him to bail. Then he drew up an anſwer to the charge, in which he denied ſome articles, and others he endeavoured to juſtify or extenuate. The Commons having ſent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the Lords appointed the

the twenty-ſeventh day of February, for the trial in Weſtminſter-hall. CHAP. X. 1709

§ IX. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It laſted three weeks, during which all other buſineſs was ſuſpended; and the Queen herſelf was every day preſent, though in quality of a private ſpectator. The managers for the Commons were Sir Joſeph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, Solicitor-General, Sir Peter King, Recorder of the city of London, Lieutenant-General Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole, Treaſurer of the Navy. The Doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, and aſſiſted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. A vaſt multitude attended him every day to and from Weſtminſter-hall, ſtriving to kiſs his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confeſſor. The Queen's ſedan was beſet by the populace, exclaiming, "God bleſs "your Majeſty and the Church. We hope your "Majeſty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They compelled all perſons to lift their hats to the Doctor, as he paſſed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged: and among theſe ſome members of parliament, who were abuſed and inſulted. They deſtroyed ſeveral meeting-houſes; plundered the dwelling-houſes of eminent diſſenters; and threatened to pull down thoſe of the Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of Wharton, and the Biſhop of Sarum. They even propoſed to attack the Bank; ſo that the directors were obliged to ſend to Whitehall for aſſiſtance. The horſe and foot guards were immediately ſent to diſperſe the rioters, who fled at their approach. Next day the guards were doubled at Whitehall, and the train-bands of Weſtminſter continued in arms during the whole trial. The Commons entreated the Queen, in an addreſs, to take effectual meaſures for ſuppreſſing the preſent tumults, ſet on foot and fomented by Papiſts, Non-

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jurors, and other enemies to her title and government. She expreſſed a deep ſenſe of their care and concern, as well as a juſt reſentment at theſe tumultuous and violent proceedings. She publiſhed a proclamation for ſuppreſſing the tumults; and ſeveral perſons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high-treaſon. Two of them were convicted, and ſentenced to die; but neither ſuffered. The Commons preſented another addreſs of thanks to her Majeſty, for her gracious anſwer to their firſt remonſtrance. They took this occaſion to declare, that the proſecution of the Commons againſt Dr. Henry Sacheverel proceeded only from the indiſpenſable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and adminiſtration, the preſent eſtabliſhed and proteſtant ſucceſſion, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the Doctor's counſel had finiſhed his defence, he himſelf recited a ſpeech, wherein he ſolemnly juſtified his intentions towards the Queen and her government; and ſpoke in the moſt reſpectful terms of the Revolution, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. He maintained the doctrine of non-reſiſtance in all caſes whatſoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetical expreſſions endeavoured to excite the compaſſion of the audience. He was ſurrounded by the Queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the Queen herſelf, who could not but reliſh a doctrine ſo well calculated for the ſupport of regal authority.

§ X. On the tenth day of March, the Lords being adjourned to their own houſe, the Earl of Nottingham propoſed the following queſtion, "Whether, "in proſecutions by impeachments for high crimes "and miſdemeanours, by writing or ſpeaking, the "particular words ſuppoſed to be criminal are "neceſſary

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"neceſſary to be expreſsly ſpecified in ſuch im-
"peachments?" The Judges being conſulted, were unanimouſly of opinion, that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expreſsly mentioned in both. One of the Lords having ſuggeſted, that the Judges had delivered their opinions according to the rules of Weſtminſter-hall, and not according to the uſage of Parliament, the Houſe reſolved, that in impeachments they ſhould proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and uſage of Parliament. On the ſixteenth day of the month, the Queen being in the Houſe incognito, they proceeded to conſider whether or not the Commons had made good the articles exhibited againſt Dr. Sacheverel. The Earl of Wharton obſerved, that the Doctor's ſpeech was a full confutation and condemnation of his ſermon: that all he had advanced about non-reſiſtance and unlimited obedience was falſe and ridiculous: that the doctrine of paſſive-obedience, as urged by the Doctor, was not reconcileable to the practice of churchmen: that if the Revolution was not lawful, many in that Houſe, and vaſt numbers without, were guilty of blood, murther, rapine, and injuſtice; and that the Queen herſelf was no lawful ſovereign, ſince the beſt title ſhe had to the crown, was her parliamentary title, founded upon the Revolution. He was anſwered by the Lord Haverſham in a long ſpeech. Lord Ferrers ſaid, if the Doctor was guilty of ſome fooliſh unguarded expreſſions, he ought to have been tried at common law. The Earl of Scarborough obſerved, the Revolution was a nice point, and above the law: he moved that they ſhould adjourn the debate, and take time to conſider before they gave judgment. Doctor Hooper, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, allowed the neceſſity and legality of reſiſtance in ſome extraordinary caſes; but was of opinion, that this maxim ought to be concealed from

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the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to reſiſt: that the Revolution was not to be boaſted of, or made a precedent: but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it ſhould be called a vacancy or abdication. He ſaid the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned without great caution: that thoſe who examined the Revolution too nicely were no friends to it; and that there ſeemed to be a neceſſity for preaching up non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience at that time, when reſiſtance was juſtified. The Duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the King's power, in order to govern him the more eaſily; and therefore they ought not to be ſuffered to meddle with politicks. The Earl of Angleſey owned the Doctor had preached nonſenſe; but ſaid, that was no crime. The Duke of Leeds diſtinguiſhed between reſiſtance, and revolution; for, had not the laſt ſucceeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, ſince he knew of no other but hereditary right. The Biſhop of Saliſbury juſtified reſiſtance from the book of Maccabees: he mentioned the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, who aſſiſted the Scots, the French, and the States-General, in reſiſting their different ſovereigns, and was ſupported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He obſerved that King Charles I. had aſſiſted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion; that Manwaring incurred a ſevere cenſure from the Parliament for having broached the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and that though this became a favourite maxim after the reſtoration, yet its warmeſt aſſerters were the firſt who pleaded for reſiſtance when they thought themſelves oppreſſed. The Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and other leaders of the Tory intereſt, declared that they never read ſuch a piece of madneſs and nonſenſe as Sacheverel's

ſermon;

ſermon; but they did not think him guilty of a misdemeanour. Next day, Dr. Wake, Biſhop of Lincoln, accuſed Sacheverel of having made a ſtrange and falſe repreſentation of the deſign for a comprehenſion, which had been ſet on foot by Archbiſhop Sancroft, and promoted by the moſt eminent divines of the church of England. He was of opinion that ſome ſtep ſhould be taken for putting a ſtop to ſuch preaching, as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and animoſities that would endanger both Church and State. Dr. Trimnel, Biſhop of Norwich expatiated on the inſolence of Sacheverel, who had arraigned Archbiſhop Grindal, one of the eminent reformers, as a perfidious prelate, for having favoured and tolerated the diſcipline of Geneva. He enlarged upon the good effects of the toleration. He took notice of Sacheverel's preſumption in publiſhing inflammatory prayers, declaring himſelf under perſecution, while he was proſecuted for offending againſt the law, by thoſe who in common juſtice aught to be thought the faireſt accuſers, and before their Lordſhips, who were juſtly acknowledged to be the moſt impartial judges. In diſcuſſing the fourth article, the Biſhop of Saliſbury ſpoke with great vehemence againſt Sacheverel, who, by inveighing againſt the Revolution, toleration, and union, ſeemed to arraign and attack the Queen herſelf; ſince her Majeſty had ſo great a ſhare in the firſt; had often declared ſhe would maintain the ſecond; and that ſhe looked upon the third as the moſt glorious event of her reign. He affirmed that nothing could be more plain than the Doctor's reflecting upon her Majeſty's miniſters; and that he had ſo well marked out a noble peer there preſent, by an ugly and ſcurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not poſſible to miſtake his meaning. Some of the younger peers could not help laughing at this undeſigned ſarcaſm upon the Lord-Treaſurer, whom

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Sacheverel had reviled under the name of Volpone: they exclaimed, "Name him, name him;" and, in all probability, the zealous Biſhop, who was remarkable for abſence of mind and unguarded expreſſions, would have gratified their requeſt, had not the Chancellor, interpoſing, declared that no Peer was obliged to ſay more than he ſhould think proper.

§ XI. After obſtinate diſputes, and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of ſeventeen voices; and four-and-thirty Peers entered a proteſt againſt this deciſion. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years: his two ſermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in preſence of the Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs of London and Middleſex. The Lords likewiſe voted, that the executioner ſhould commit to the ſame fire the famous decree paſſed in the convocation of the Univerſity of Oxford, aſſerting the abſolute authority and indefeaſible right of Princes. A like ſentence was denounced by the Commons upon a book intituled, "Collections of Paſſages referred to by Dr. Sacheverel, in his Anſwer to the Articles of Impeachment." Theſe he had ſelected from impious books lately publiſhed, and they were read by his counſel, as proofs that the Church was in danger. The lenity of the ſentence paſſed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great meaſure owing to the dread of popular reſentment, his friends conſidered as a victory obtained over a Whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations.

An. 1710. Burn. Hare. Torcy. Fouqueres Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough. Tindal. Voltaire.

On the fifth day of April, the Queen ordered the Parliament to be prorogued, after having, in her ſpeech to both Houſes, expreſſed her concern for the neceſſary occaſion which had taken up great part of their time towards the latter end of the ſeſſion. She declared that no Prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and proſperity of the Church

Church than ſhe had, and ſhould always have; and ſhe ſaid it was very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to inſinuate that the Church was in danger by her adminiſtration. CHAP. X. 1710.

§ XII. The French King, ſeeing the miſery of his people daily increaſe, and all his reſources fail, humbled himſelf again before the Allies, and by the means of Petkum, who ſtill correſponded with his miniſters, implored the States-General, that the negociation might be reſumed. In order to facilitate their conſent, he diſpatched a new project of pacification, in which he promiſed to renounce his grandſon, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their eſtates and dignities. Theſe overtures being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and Queen of Great-Britain. Then Petkum wrote a letter to the Marquis de Torcy, intimating, that the Allies required his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould declare, in plain and expreſſive terms, that he conſented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-ſeventh article, which ſtipulated a ceſſation of arms, in caſe the Spaniſh monarchy ſhould be delivered to King Charles in the ſpace of two months. He ſaid, the Allies would ſend paſſports to the French miniſters, to treat of an equivalent for that article. Louis was even forced to ſwallow this bitter draught. He ſignified his conſent, and appointed the Mareſchal D'Uxelles and the Abbé Polignac his plenipotentiaries. They were not ſuffered, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the deputies Buys and Vanderduſſen at Gertruydenburgh. Meanwhile, the States deſired the Queen of England to ſend over the Duke of Marlborough, to aſſiſt them with his advice in theſe conferences. The two Houſes of Parliament ſeconded their requeſt in a joint addreſs to her Majeſty, who told them ſhe had already given directions for his departure; and ſaid ſhe was

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§ XIII. The French miniſters were ſubjected to every ſpecies of mortification. They were in a manner confined to a ſmall fortified town, and all their conduct narrowly watched. Their accommodation was mean: their letters were opened; and they were daily inſulted by injurious libels. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negociation. In vain the plenipotentiaries declared, that the French King could not with decency, or the leaſt regard to his honour, wage war againſt his own grandſon: the deputies inſiſted upon his effecting the ceſſion of Spain and the Indies to the Houſe of Auſtria; and ſubmitting to every other article ſpecified in the preliminaries. Nay, they even reſerved to themſelves a power of making ulterior demands after the preliminaries ſhould be adjuſted. Louis propoſed that ſome ſmall proviſion ſhould be made for the Duke of Anjou, which might induce him to relinquiſh Spain the more eaſily. He mentioned the kingdom of Arragon; and this hint being diſagreeable to the Allies, he demanded Naples and Sicily. When they urged that Naples was already in poſſeſſion of the Houſe of Auſtria, he reſtricted the proviſion to Sicily and Sardinia. He offered to deliver up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a ſecurity for Philip's evacuating Spain; and even promiſed to ſupply the Confederates with a monthly ſum of money, to defray the expence of expelling that Prince from his dominions, ſhould he refuſe to reſign them with a good grace. The ſubſtance of all

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all the conferences was communicated to Lord Townſhend, and Count Kinzendorf, the Imperial plenipotentiary; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the Penſionary Heinſius, who was firmly attached to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, more averſe than ever to a pacification. The negociation laſted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which term the conferences were ſeveral times interrupted, and a great many diſpatches and new propoſals arrived from Verſailles. At length, the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having ſent a letter to the Penſionary, in which they declared, that the propoſals made by the deputies were unjuſt and impracticable; and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been expoſed. Louis reſolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope, that there might be ſome lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the Engliſh miniſtry, of which he was well appriſed, would be productive of a more reaſonable pacification. The States-General reſolved, That the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negociation had begun, and ſtudied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the reſtitution of Spain and the Indies: and, in ſhort, that France had no other view than to ſow and create jealouſy and diſunion among the Allies. Lord Townſhend, in a memorial, aſſured them, that the Queen entirely approved their reſolution, and all the ſteps they had taken in the courſe of the negociation; and that ſhe was firmly reſolved to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour, until the enemy ſhould accept ſuch terms of peace as might ſecure the tranquillity of the Chriſtian world.

§ XIV. The conferences did not retard the operations of the campaign. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough ſet out from the Hague on the fifteenth day of March for Tournay, in order to

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assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabant. On the twentieth of April, they suddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines upon which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Douay and other frontier towns, which were threatened by the Confederates. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition. The Allies having laid bridges over the scarp, the Duke of Marlborough with his division passed that river, and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other side, and invested Douay, the enemy retiring towards Cambray. Mareschal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and well appointed, considering the distress of that kingdom. Indeed, the number was augmented by this distress; for many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger, by carrying arms in the service. The Mareschal having assembled all his forces, passed the Schelde, and encamped at Boucham, declaring that he would give battle to the Confederates: an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the Allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception. He advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the Confederates, he marched back to the Heights of St. Lawrence, where he fixed his camp. His aim was, by continual alarms, to interrupt the siege of Douay, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Monsieur Albergotti, who made a number of successful sallies, in which the besiegers lost a great number of men. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults: but still proceeded with unremitting vigour, until the besieged being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened. The generals finding it impracticable to attack the enemy, who were posted within strong

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ſtrong lines from Arras towards Miramont, reſolved to beſiege Bethune, which was inveſted on the fifteenth day of July, and ſurrendered on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt. Villars marched out of his entrenchments with a view to raiſe the ſiege; but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement: ſome warm ſkirmiſhes, however, happened between the foragers of the two armies. After the reduction of Bethune, the Allies beſieged at one time the towns of Aire and St. Venant, which were taken without much difficulty. Then the armies broke up, and marched into winter quarters.

§ XV. The campaign on the Rhine was productive of no military event; nor was any thing of conſequence tranſacted in Piedmont. The Duke of Savoy being indiſpoſed and out of humour, the command of the forces ſtill continued veſted in Count Thaun, who endeavoured to paſs the Alps, and penetrate into Dauphiné: but the Duke of Berwick had caſt up entrenchments in the mountains, and taken ſuch precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the Imperial general. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents. The horſe and dragoons in the army of King Charles, headed by General Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almennara. Stanhope charged in perſon, and with his own hand ſlew General Ameſſaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spaniſh horſe were entirely routed, together with nine battalions that eſcaped by favour of the darkneſs; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg purſued them to Saragoſſa,, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement enſuing on the ninth day of Auguſt, the enemy were totally defeated: five thouſand of their men were killed, ſeven thouſand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards. King Charles entered Saragoſſa in triumph, while Philip

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with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid. Having ſent his Queen and ſon to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his ſcattered troops, ſo as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of ſhort duration. Stanhope propoſed that he ſhould immediately ſecure Pampeluna, the only paſs by which the French King could ſend troops to Spain; but this ſalutary ſcheme was rejected. King Charles proceeded to Madrid, which was deſerted by all the grandees; and he had the mortification to ſee that the Caſtilians were univerſally attached to his competitor.

§ XVI. While his forces continued cantoned in the neighbourhood of Toledo, the King of France, at the requeſt of Philip, ſent the Duke de Vendome to take the command of the Spaniſh army, which was at the ſame time reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendome's reputation was ſo high, and his perſon ſo beloved by the ſoldiery, that his preſence was almoſt equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately aſſembled to ſignalize themſelves under the eye of this renowned general. The Caſtilians were inſpired with freſh courage, and made ſurpriſing efforts in favour of their ſovereign; ſo that in leſs than three months after his defeat at Saragoſſa, he was in a condition to go in queſt of his rival. Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, which took no ſteps to ſupply his wants, or enable him to proſecute the advantages he had gained. In the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragoſſa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Ciſuentes, where Staremberg eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. General Stanhope, with the Britiſh forces, was quartered in the little town of Briheuga, where, on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month, he found himſelf ſuddenly ſurrounded by the whole Spaniſh army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he

he was obliged, after a ſhort but vigorous reſiſtance, to capitulate, and ſurrender himſelf and all his forces priſoners of war, to the amount of two thouſand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, with all the colonels and officers of the reſpective regiments. He was greatly cenſured for having allowed himſelf to be ſurpriſed; for if he had placed a guard upon the neighbouring hills, according to the advice of General Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes. Thither he had detached his aide-du-camp, with an account of his ſituation, on the appearance of the Spaniſh army; and Staremberg immediately aſſembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to march towards Brihuega; but the roads were ſo bad, that night overtook them before they reached the heights in the neighbourhood of that place. Staremberg is ſaid to have loitered away his time unneceſſarily, from motives of envy to the Engliſh general, who had ſurrendered before his arrival. The troops lay all night on their arms near Villa-vicioſa, and on the twenty-ninth were attacked by the enemy, who doubled their number. Staremberg's left wing was utterly defeated, all the infantry that compoſed it having been either cut in pieces or taken: but the victors, inſtead of following the blow, began to plunder the baggage; and Staremberg with his right wing fought their left with ſurpriſing valour and perſeverance till night. Then they retired in diſorder, leaving him maſter of the field of battle and of all their artillery. Six thouſand of the enemy were killed on the ſpot: but the Allies had ſuffered ſo ſeverely that the general could not maintain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be nailed up, and marched to Saragoſſa, from whence he retired to Catalonia. Thither he was purſued by the Duke de Vendome, who reduced Balaguer, in which he had left a garriſon, and compelled

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pelled him to take ſhelter under the walls of Barcelona. At this period the Duke de Noailles inveſted Gironne, which he reduced notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather: ſo that Philip, from a fugitive, became in three months abſolute maſter of the whole Spaniſh monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incurſions. Nothing of conſequence was atchieved on the ſide of Portugal, from whence the Earl of Galway returned to England by the Queen's permiſſion. The operations of the Britiſh fleet, during this ſummer, were ſo inconſiderable as ſcarce to deſerve notice. Sir John Norris commanded in the Mediterranean, and with a view to ſupport the Camiſars, who were in arms in the Cevennes, ſailed to Port Cette, within a league of Marſeilles, and at the diſtance of fifteen from the inſurgents. The place ſurrendered, without oppoſition, to about ſeven hundred men that landed under the command of Major-General Suiſſan, a native of Languedoc. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of Ayde; but the Duke de Noailles advancing with a body of forces to join the Duke de Roquelaire, who commanded in thoſe parts, the Engliſh abandoned their conqueſts, and re-embarked with precipitation. After the battle of Pultowa the Czar of Muſcovy reduced all Livonia: but he and King Auguſtus agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania. The King of Sweden continued at Bender, and the Grand Signor intereſted himſelf ſo much in behalf of that Prince, as to declare war againſt the Emperor of Ruſſia. Hoſtilities were carried on beween the Swediſh and Daniſh fleets with various ſucceſs. The malcontents in Hungary ſuſtained repeated loſſes during the ſummer: but they were encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture between the Ottoman Porte and Ruſſia. They were flattered with hopes of auxiliaries from the Turks: and expected engineers and money from the French monarch.

§ XVII.

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§ XVII. In England, the effects of thoſe intrigues which had been formed againſt the Whig Miniſters began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel had excited a popular ſpirit of averſion to thoſe who favoured the diſſenters. From all parts of the kingdom addreſſes were preſented to the Queen, cenſuring all reſiſtance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon anti-monarchical and republican principles. At the ſame time counter-addreſſes were procured by the Whigs extolling the Revolution, and magnifying the conduct of the preſent Parliament. The Queen began to expreſs her attachment to the Tories, by mortifying the Duke of Marlborough. Upon the death of the Earl of Eſſex ſhe wrote to the general, deſiring that the regiment which had been commanded by that nobleman ſhould be given to Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Maſham, who had ſupplanted the Ducheſs of Marlborough in the Queen's friendſhip, and was, in effect, the ſource of this political revolution. The Duke repreſented to her Majeſty, in perſon, the prejudice that would redound to the ſervice from the promotion of ſuch a young officer over the heads of a great many brave men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. He expoſtulated with his ſovereign on this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mrs. Maſham, which he could not help conſidering as a declaration againſt himſelf and his family, who had ſo much cauſe to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude. To this remonſtrance the Queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to conſult his friends. The Earl of Godolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without effect; and the Duke retired in diſguſt to Windſor. The Queen appeared at council without taking the leaſt notice of his abſence, which did not fail to alarm the whole Whig faction. Several noblemen ventured to ſpeak to her Majeſty on the ſubject, and explain the bad conſequences of diſobliging a man

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a man who had done ſuch eminent ſervices to the nation. She told them his ſervices were ſtill freſh in her memory; and that ſhe retained all her former kindneſs for his perſon. Hearing, however, that a popular clamour was raiſed, and that the Houſe of Commons intended to paſs ſome votes that would be diſagreeable to her and her new councillors, ſhe ordered the Earl of Godolphin to write to the Duke, to diſpoſe of the regiment as he ſhould think proper, and return to town immediately. Before he received this intimation he had ſent a letter to the Queen, deſiring ſhe would permit him to retire from buſineſs. In anſwer to this petition, ſhe aſſured him his ſuſpicions were groundleſs, and inſiſted upon his coming to council. The Ducheſs demanded an audience of her Majeſty, on pretence of vindicating her own character from ſome aſperſions. She hoped to work upon the Queen's tenderneſs, and retrieve the influence ſhe had loſt. She proteſted, argued, wept, and ſupplicated: but the Queen was too well pleaſed with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other's friendſhip, to incur ſuch ſlavery for the future. All the humiliation of the Ducheſs ſerved only to render herſelf the more contemptible. The Queen heard her without exhibiting the leaſt ſign of emotion, and all ſhe would vouchſafe, was a repetition of theſe words, "You deſired no anſwer, and "you ſhall have none:" alluding to an expreſſion in a letter ſhe had received from the Ducheſs. As an additional mortification to the miniſtry, the office of Lord Chamberlain was transferred from the Duke of Kent to the Duke of Shrewſbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimacy of correſpondence with Mr. Harley. The intereſt of the Duke of Marlborough was not even ſufficient to prevent the diſmiſſion of his own ſon-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, from the poſt of Secretary of State, in which he was ſucceeded by Lord Dartmouth.

§ XVIII.

§ XVIII. The Queen was generally applauded for thus asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary cabal, by which she had been so long kept in dependence. The Duke of Beaufort went to Court on this occasion, and told her Majesty, he was extremely glad that he could now salute her Queen in reality. The whole Whig party were justly alarmed at these alterations. The directors of the Bank represented to her Majesty the prejudice that would undoubtedly accrue to publick credit from a change of the ministry. The Emperor and the States-General interposed in this domestick revolution. Their ministers at London presented memorials, explaining in what manner foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in the British ministry. The Queen assured them, that, whatever changes might be made, the Duke of Marlborough should be continued in his employments. In the month of August the Earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the Treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer and Under-Treasurer. The Earl of Rochester was declared President of the council, in the room of Lord Somers: the staff of Lord Steward being taken from the Duke of Devonshire, was given to the Duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the Secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The Lord Chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which the Queen conferred on the Duke of Ormond. The Earl of Orford withdrew himself from the Board of Admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed Secretary of War, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed upon the Earl of Portmore: the Duke of Hamil-

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ton was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaſter. In a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of ſtate, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had not he been earneſtly diſſuaded by his particular friends from taking ſuch a ſtep as might have been prejudicial to the intereſt of the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the Queen diſſolved the Whig Parliament, after ſuch precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election in favour of the other party.

§ XIX. To this end nothing ſo effectually contributed as did the trial of Sacheverel, who was uſed as an inſtrument and tool to wind and turn the paſſions of the vulgar. Having been preſented to a benefice in North Wales, he went in proceſſion to that country, with all the pomp and magnificence of a ſovereign prince. He was ſumptuouſly entertained by the Univerſity of Oxford, and different noblemen, who, while they worſhipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help deſpiſing the object of their adoration. He was received in ſeveral towns by the magiſtrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thouſand horſe. At Bridgenorth he was met by Mr. Creſwell, at the head of four thouſand horſe, and the like number of perſons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dreſſed with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; and the ſteeples covered with ſtreamers, flags, and colours. Nothing was heard but the cry of "The Church and Dr. Sacheverel." The clergy were actuated by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which ſeemed to ſpread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had ſuch effect upon the elections for the new Parliament, that very few were returned as members but ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal againſt the Whig adminiſtration. Now the Queen had the pleaſure to ſee all the offices of ſtate, the lieutenancy of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both Houſes of Parliament in the hands of the Tories. When theſe met on the twenty-fifth day of November, Mr. Bromley was choſen Speaker without oppoſition. The Queen, in her ſpeech, recommended the proſecution of the war with vigour, eſpecially in Spain. She declared herſelf reſolved to ſupport the Church of England; to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to ſcrupulous conſciences; and to employ none but ſuch as were heartily attached to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. The Lords, in their addreſs, promiſed to concur in all reaſonable meaſures towards procuring an honourable peace. The Commons were more warm and hearty in their aſſurances, exhorting her Majeſty to diſcountenance all ſuch principles and meaſures as had lately threatened her Royal crown and dignity; meaſures, which whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole conſtitution, both in Church and State. After this declaration they proceeded to conſider the eſtimates, and cheerfully granted the ſupplies for the enſuing year, part of which was raiſed by two lotteries. In the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of Scarborough moved that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be returned to the Duke of Marlborough; but the Duke of Argyle made ſome objections to the motion, and the general's friends, dreading the conſequence of putting the queſtion, poſtponed the conſideration of this propoſal until the Duke ſhould return from the continent. The Earl of Peterborough was appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Imperial court: the Earl of Rivers was ſent in the ſame quality to Hanover: Mr. Richard Hill was nominated Envoy Extraordinary to the United

CHAP. II. 1710.

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§ XX. This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the Queen, and next morning aſſiſted at a committee of the privy-council. Her Majeſty gave him to underſtand, that he needed not to expect the thanks of the Parliament as formerly: and told him ſhe hoped he would live well with her miniſters. He expreſſed no reſentment at the alterations which had been made; but reſolved to acquieſce in the Queen's pleaſure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the ſecond day of January, the Queen ſent a meſſage to both Houſes, intimating that there had been an action in Spain to the diſadvantage of King Charles: that the damage having fallen particularly on the Engliſh forces, ſhe had given directions for ſending and procuring troops to repair the loſs, and hoped the Parliament would approve her conduct. Both Houſes ſeized this opportunity of venting their ſpleen againſt the old miniſtry. The hiſtory of England is diſgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, which, in their turn, engroſſed the adminiſtration, and legiſlative power. The parliamentary ſtrain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how reſolutions ſo widely different could be taken on the ſame ſubject, with any ſhadow of reaſon and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been ſo highly extolled and careſſed by the repreſentatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and cenſure, though no ſenſible alteration had happened in his conduct or ſucceſs. That hero, who had retrieved

trieved the glory of the Britiſh arms, won ſo many battles, ſubdued ſuch a number of towns and diſtricts, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, ſecured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels, was in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and deriſion. He was ridiculed in publick libels, and reviled in private converſation. Inſtances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his inſolence, cruelty, ambition, and miſconduct: even his courage was called in queſtion; and this conſummate general was repreſented as the loweſt of mankind. So unſtable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two oppoſite tides of faction. CHAP. X. 1710.

§ XXI. The Lords, in their anſwer to the Queen's meſſage, declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occaſioned by ſome preceding miſmanagement, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover it, ſo as to prevent the like for the future. They ſet on foot an enquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the Earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miſcarriages in the courſe of that war to the Earl of Galway and General Stanhope. Notwithſtanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the Houſe reſolved, That the Earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and honourable account of the councils of war in Valencia: That the Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, in adviſing an offenſive war, had been the unhappy occaſion of the battle at Almanza, the ſource of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cauſe of the diſappointment of the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her Majeſty. They voted That the proſecution of an offenſive war in Spain was approved and directed by the Miniſters, who were, therefore, juſtly blameable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the

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diſappointment of the expedition againſt Toulon: That the Earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent ſervices; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that enſued. Then the Duke of Buckingham moved, That the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the Earl, for his remarkable and eminent ſervices: and theſe he actually received from the mouth of the Lord-Keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop ſome oblique reflections upon the mercenary diſpoſition of the Duke of Marlborough. The Houſe, proceeding in the enquiry, paſſed another vote, importing, That the late miniſtry had been negligent in managing the Spaniſh war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portugueſe troops were poſted on the right of the Engliſh at the battle of Almanza, they reſolved, That the Earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honour of the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain. Theſe reſolutions they included in an addreſs to the Queen, who had been preſent during the debates, which were extremely violent; and to every ſeparate vote was attached a ſevere proteſt. Theſe were not the proceedings of candour and national juſtice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animoſity.

§ XXII. While the Lords were employed in this enquiry, the Commons examined certain abuſes which had crept into the management of the navy; and ſome cenſures were paſſed upon certain perſons concerned in contracts for victualling the ſeamen. The inhabitants of St. Olave's and other pariſhes preſented a petition, complaining that a great number of Palatines, inhabiting one houſe, might produce among them a contagious diſtemper; and in time become a charge to the publick, as they were deſtitute of all viſible means of ſubſiſtence. This petition had been procured by the Tories, that the Houſe

House of Commons might have another handle for attacking the late Ministry. A committee was appointed to enquire upon what invitation or encouragement those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the Queen's order, and perused, the House resolved, That the inviting and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the publick expence, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the publick money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution in Church and State; and, That whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the Queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this enquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all Protestants: but this was rejected in the House of Lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in Parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a-year; and restricting the qualification of burgesses to half that sum. The design of this bill was to exclude trading people from the House of Commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-holders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms: a bill against which the Whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

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§ XXIII. A violent party in the House of Commons began to look upon Harley as a lukewarm Tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular accident. Guiscard, the French partisan, of whom mention hath already been made, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services, with a precarious pension of four hun-

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dred pounds, which he enjoyed from the Queen's bounty. He had been renounced by St. John, the former companion of his pleaſures: he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the Queen, with a view to demand more conſiderable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all acceſs to her Majeſty was denied. Enraged at theſe diſappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the Court of France, and offered his ſervices, in a letter to one Moreau, a banker, in Paris. This packet, which he endeavoured to tranſmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant iſſued out to apprehend him for high-treaſon. When the meſſenger diſarmed him in St. James's Park, he exhibited marks of guilty confuſion and deſpair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the Cockpit, in a ſort of phrenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon a table, and took it up without being perceived by the attendants. A committee of council was immediately ſummoned, and Guiſcard brought before them to be examined. Finding that his correſpondence with Moreau was diſcovered, he deſired to ſpeak in private with Secretary St. John, whom, in all probability, he had reſolved to aſſaſſinate. His requeſt being refuſed, he ſaid, "That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he ſtepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then!" ſtabbed him in the breaſt with the penknife which he had concealed. The inſtrument broke upon the bone, without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheleſs, he repeated the blow with ſuch force, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John, ſeeing him fall, cried out, "The villain "has killed Mr. Harley!" and drew his ſword. Several other members followed his example, and wounded Guiſcard in ſeveral places. Yet he made a deſperate defence, until he was overpowered by the meſſengers and ſervants, and conveyed from the council-

council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confuſion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal: but he died of a gangrene occaſioned by the bruiſes he had ſuſtained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a perſon who wanted to eſtabliſh a traitorous correſpondence with France, extinguiſhed the ſuſpicions of thoſe who began to doubt that miniſter's integrity. The two Houſes of Parliament, in an addreſs to the Queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her Majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction. They beſought her Majeſty to take all poſſible care of her ſacred perſon; and, for that purpoſe, to give directions for cauſing Papiſts to be removed from the cities of London and Weſtminſter. A proclamation was publiſhed, ordering the laws to be ſtrictly put in execution againſt Papiſts. When Harley appeared in the Houſe of Commons after his recovery, he was congratulated upon it by the Speaker, in a florid and fulſome premeditated ſpeech. An act was paſſed, decreeing, That an attempt upon the life of a Privy-counſellor ſhould be felony without benefit of clergy. The Earl of Rocheſter dying, Harley became ſole miniſter, was created Baron of Wigmore, and raiſed to the rank of Earl, by the noble and ancient title of Oxford and Mortimer: to crown his proſperity, he was appointed Lord-Treaſurer, and veſted with the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs.

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Burnet, Quincy. Feuquieres Torcy. Burchet. Hiſtory of the Duke of Marlborough. Mil. Hiſt. Conduct. of the Ducheſs of Marlborough. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

§ XXIV. The Commons empowered certain perſons to examine all the grants made by King William, and report the value of them, as well as the conſiderations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed and paſſed that Houſe; but the Lords rejected it at the firſt reading. Their next ſtep was to examine the publick accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the Earl of Godolphin. They voted, That above five-and-thirty millions

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lions of the money granted by Parliament remained unaccounted for. This ſum, however, included ſome accounts in the reigns of King Charles and King William. One half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges, the paymaſter, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though theſe accounts had not paſſed through the Auditor's office. The Commons afterwards proceeded to enquire into the debts of the Navy, that exceeded five millions, which, with many other debts, were thrown into one ſtock, amounting to nine millions four hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an intereſt or annuity of ſix per cent. until the principal ſhould be diſcharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade in the South Sea, veſted in the proprietors of Navy-bills, Debentures, and other publick ſecurities, which were incorporated for this purpoſe. Such was the origin of the South Sea Company, founded upon a chimerical ſuppoſition, that the Engliſh would be permitted to trade upon the coaſt of Peru in the Weſt Indies. Perhaps, the new miniſtry hoped to obtain this permiſſion, as an equivalent for their abandoning the intereſt of King Charles, with reſpect to his pretenſions upon Spain. By this time the Emperor Joſeph had died of the ſmall-pox without male iſſue; ſo that his brother's immediate aim was to ſucceed him on the Imperial throne. This event was, on the twentieth day of April, communicated by a meſſage from the Queen to both Houſes. She told them, that the States-General had concurred with her in a reſolution to ſupport the Houſe of Auſtria; and that they had already taken ſuch meaſures as would ſecure the election of Charles as head of the Empire.

§ XXV. The Houſe of Commons, in order to demonſtrate their attachment to the Church, in conſequence of an addreſs from the Lower Houſe of Convo-

Convocation, and a quickening meſſage from the Queen, paſſed a bill for building fifty new churches in the ſuburbs of London and Weſtminſter, and appropriated for this purpoſe the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finiſhed. This impoſition was continued until it ſhould raiſe the ſum of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. At the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the Commons preſented a remonſtrance or repreſentation to the Queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raiſed the neceſſary ſupplies, but alſo diſcharged the heavy debts of which the nation had ſo long and juſtly complained. They ſaid, that, in tracing the cauſes of this debt, they had diſcovered fraud, embezzlement, and miſapplication of the publick money: that they who of late years had the management of the Treaſury were guilty of notorious breach of truſt and injuſtice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to remain unaccounted for; a purpoſed omiſſion that looked like a deſign to conceal embezzlements. They begged her Majeſty would give immediate directions for compelling the ſeveral Impreſt Accountants ſpeedily to paſs their accounts. They expreſſed their hope, that ſuch of the accountants as had neglected their duty in proſecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be entruſted with the publick money. They affirmed, that from all theſe evil practices and worſe deſigns of ſome perſons, who had, by falſe profeſſions of love to their country, inſinuated themſelves into her royal favour, irreparable miſchief would have accrued to the publick, had not her Majeſty, in her great wiſdom, ſeaſonably diſcovered the fatal tendency of ſuch meaſures, and removed from the adminiſtration thoſe who had ſo ill anſwered her Majeſty's favourable opinion, and in ſo many inſtances groſly abuſed the truſt repoſed in them. They obſerved, that her people could with greater patience have ſuffered the manifold injuries done to themſelves,

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ſelves, by the frauds and depredations of ſuch evil miniſters, had not the ſame men proceeded to treat her ſacred perſon with undutifulneſs and diſregard. This repreſentation being circulated through the kingdom, produced the deſired effect of inflaming the minds of the people againſt the late miniſtry. Such expedients were become neceſſary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was to put a ſpeedy end to a war that had already ſubjected the people to grievous oppreſſion, and even accumulated heavy burthens to be tranſmitted to their poſterity. The nation was inſpired by extravagant ideas of glory and conqueſt, even to a rage of war-making; ſo that the new miniſters, in order to diſpel thoſe dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take meaſures for exciting their indignation and contempt againſt thoſe perſons whom they had formerly idoliſed as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth day of June, the Queen, having given the Royal aſſent to ſeveral publick and private bills, made an affectionate ſpeech to both Houſes. She thanked the Commons, in the warmeſt expreſſions, for having complied with all her deſires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year; in having granted greater ſums than were even given to any Prince in one ſeſſion; and in having ſettled funds for the payment of the publick debts, ſo that the credit of the nation was reſtored. She expreſſed her earneſt concern for the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover; and her fixed reſolution to ſupport and encourage the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed. Then the Parliament was prorogued.

§ XXVI. Of the Convocation which was aſſembled with the new Parliament, the Lower Houſe choſe Dr. Atterbury, their Prolocutor. He was an enterpriſing Eccleſiaſtick, of extenſive learning, acute talents, violently attached to Tory principles, and intimately connected with the prime miniſter, Oxford;

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ford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the Lower House of Convocation, in concert with that minister. The Queen, in a letter to the Archbishop, signified her hope, that the consultations of the clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons. She sent a licence under the Broad Seal, empowering them to sit and do business in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the Reformation. They were ordered to lay before the Queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The Bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the Church and Religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures upon the Administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the Revolution. Another was penned by the Bishops in more moderate terms; and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two Houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets favouring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, Mathematical Professor in Cambridge. He had been expelled the university, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the Convocation. The Archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the Judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave in their opinion, that the Convocation had a jurisdiction. Four of them professed the contrary sentiment, which they maintained from the statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, in a letter to the Bishops, said that as there was now no doubt of their jurisdiction, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them. Fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, with-

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out proceeding againſt the author, and this was cenſured accordingly. An extract of the ſentence was ſent to the Queen; but ſhe did not ſignify her pleaſure on this ſubject, and the affair remained in ſuſpence. Whiſton publiſhed a work in four volumes, juſtifying his doctrine, and maintaining that the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions were not only canonical, but alſo preferable in point of authority to the Epiſtles and the Goſpel.

§ XXVII. The new miniſtry had not yet determined to ſuperſede the Duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was a ſtep which could not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other allies. He, therefore, ſet out for Holland in the month of February, after the Queen had aſſured him, that he might depend upon the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the Deputies of the States about the operations of the campaign, he, about the middle of April, aſſembled the army at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay; while Mareſchal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. Louis had by this time depopulated as well as impoveriſhed his kingdom; yet his ſubjects ſtill flocked to his ſtandard with ſurpriſing ſpirit and attachment. Under the preſſure of extreme miſery they uttered not one complaint of their Sovereign: but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obſtinacy of the Allies. Excluſive of all the other impoſitions that were laid upon that people, they conſented to pay the tenth penny of their whole ſubſtance: but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their Prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the kingdom, by the permiſſion of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South Sea, from whence they brought home immenſe treaſures; while the Allies took no ſteps for intercepting theſe ſupplies, though nothing could have been more eaſy for the Engliſh than to deprive the enemy of this great

great reſource, and convert it to their own advantage. Had a ſquadron of ſhips been annually employed for this purpoſe, the ſubjects of France and Spain muſt have been literally ſtarved, and Louis obliged to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the Confederates might have thought proper to impoſe. Villars had found means to aſſemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanſet, in ſuch an advantageous poſt as could not be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Meanwhile the Duke of Marlborough paſſed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by Prince Eugene on the twenty-third day of May. This General, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Underſtanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the Elector of Bavaria intended to act in the Empire, the Prince, by order from the Court of Vienna, marched towards the Upper Rhine with the Imperial and Palatine troops, to ſecure Germany. The Duke of Marlborough repaſſing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. Theſe lines beginning at Bouchain on the Schelde, were continued along the Sanſet and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. They were defended by redoubts and other works, in ſuch a manner, that Villars judged they were impregnable, and called them the *Ne plus ultrà* of Marlborough.

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§ XXVIII. This nobleman advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of faſcines to be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning; ſo that Villars drew all his forces on that ſide, in full expectations of an engagement. The Duke, on the ſuppoſition that the paſſage of the Sanſet by Arleux would be left unguarded, had ordered the Generals Cadogan and

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proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Schelde at Crevecœur, in order to cover Bouchain: but the Duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines, might be fatal. His intention was to besiege Bouchain; an enterprize that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the Allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege: and, in the mean time, dispatched Brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the Duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of Prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man who had done so much honour to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service. CHAP. X. 1711.

§ XXIX. On the tenth day of August Bouchain was invested, and the Duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to baffle the endeavours of the English General. He had reinforced the garrison to the number of six thousand chosen men, commanded by officers of

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known courage and ability. He made ſome efforts to raiſe the ſiege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the conſummate prudence and activity of the Duke of Marlborough. Then he laid a ſcheme for ſurpriſing Douay, which likewiſe miſcarried. If we conſider that the Engliſh general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raiſe batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a cauſeway through a deep moraſs, provide for the ſecurity of convoys againſt a numerous army on one ſide, and the garriſons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, we muſt allow this was the boldeſt enterprize of the whole war: that it required all the fortitude, ſkill, and reſolution of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had ſcarce ever exhibited ſuch amazing proofs of courage upon any other occaſion as they now diſplayed at the ſiege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; and this conqueſt was the laſt military exploit performed by the Duke of Marlborough: the breaches of Bouchain were no ſooner repaired than the oppoſite armies began to ſeparate and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the ſpring. They were now in poſſeſſion of the Maeſe, almoſt as far as the Sambre; of the Schelde from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spaniſh Guelderland, Limburg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greateſt part of Hainault: they were maſters of the Scarpe; and, by the conqueſt of Bouchain, they had opened to themſelves a way into the very bowels of France. All theſe acquiſitions were owing to the valour and conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

§ XXX.

§ XXX. The Queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain upon the Duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the ſervice in Flanders for that purpoſe. He had long been at variance with the Duke of Marlborough; a circumſtance which recommended him the more ſtrongly to the miniſtry. He landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the Britiſh troops in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of ſubſiſtence. The Treaſurer had promiſed to ſupply him liberally; the Commons had granted one million five hundred thouſand pounds for that ſervice. All their hopes of ſucceſs were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the Duke de Vendome was in ſuch a wretched condition, that if Staremberg had been properly ſupported by the Allies, he might have obtained ſignal advantages. The Duke of Argyle, having waited in vain for the promiſed remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the Britiſh troops could take the field. At length, Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the paſs of Prato del Rey, where they were repulſed with conſiderable damage. After this action the Duke of Argyle was ſeized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome inveſted the caſtle of Cardona, which was vigorouſly defended till the end of December, when a detachment being ſent to the relief of the place, defeated the beſiegers, killed two thouſand on the ſpot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Staremberg was unable to follow the blow: the Duke of Argyle wrote preſſing letters to the miniſtry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unſupported; but all his remonſtrances were ineffectual: no remittances arrived; and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, King Charles, leaving his Queen at Barcelona, ſet ſail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview

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view with the Duke of Savoy, where all diſputes were compromiſed. That Prince had forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine: but he ſuddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a ſhort campaign repaſſed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the Electors at Frankfort from the deſigns of the enemy, and Charles was unanimouſly choſen Emperor; the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria having been excluded from voting, becauſe they lay under the ban of the Empire. The war between the Ottoman Porte and the Muſcovites was of ſhort duration. The Czar advanced ſo far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from all ſupplies, and altogether in the power of his enemy. In this emergency, he found means to corrupt the Grand Vizir in private, while in publick he propoſed articles of peace that were accepted. The King of Sweden, who was in the Turkiſh army, charged the Vizir with treachery, and that miniſter was actually diſgraced. The Grand Signior threatened to renew the war; but he was appeaſed by the Czar's ſurrendering Aſoph.

§ XXXI. The Engliſh miniſtry had conceived great expectations from an expedition againſt Quebec and Placentia, in North America, planned by Colonel Nicholſon, who had taken poſſeſſion of Nova Scotia, and garriſoned Porte Royal to which he gave the name of Anapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and repreſented the advantages that would redound to the nation in point of commerce, ſhould the French be expelled from North America. The miniſters reliſhed the propoſal. A body of five thouſand men was embarked in tranſports, under the command of Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Maſham; and they ſailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker. At Boſton in New England, they were

were joined by two regiments of Provincials; and about four thouſand men, conſiſting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvouſed at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet ſailed up the river of that name. On the twenty-firſt day of Auguſt, they were expoſed to a violent ſtorm, and driven among rocks, where eight tranſports periſhed, with about eight hundred men. The Admiral immediately ſailed back to Spaniſh-River bay, were it was determined, in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a ſupply of proviſions from New England, they ſhould return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the iſſue of this paltry expedition, entruſted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience. CHAP. X. 1711.

§ XXXII. In the Iriſh Parliament held during the ſummer, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of the Peers ſupported the Tory intereſt, while the Commons expreſſed the warmeſt attachment to Revolution principles. The two Houſes made ſtrenuous repreſentations, and paſſed ſevere reſolutions againſt each other. After the ſeſſion, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, the Chancellor, and General Ingoldſby, were appointed Juſtices in the abſence of the Duke of Ormond, who returned to England in the month of November. In Scotland the Jacobites made no ſcruple of profeſſing their principles and attachments to the Pretender. The Ducheſs of Gordon preſented the Faculty of Advocates with a ſilver medal, repreſenting the Chevalier de St. George; and on the reverſe the Britiſh iſlands, with the motto "*Redditte.*" After ſome debate, it was voted, by a majority of ſixty-three voices againſt twelve, that the Ducheſs ſhould be thanked for this token of her regard. This taſk was performed by Dundaſs of Arniſtoun, who thanked her Grace for having preſented them with a medal of their Sovereign Lord

BOOK I. 1711. the King; hoping, and being confident, that her Grace would very ſoon have an opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a ſecond medal, ſtruck upon the reſtoration of the King and Royal family, upon the finiſhing rebellion, uſurping tyranny, and whiggery. An account of this tranſaction being laid before the Queen, the Lord-Advocate was ordered to enquire into the particulars. Then the Faculty were ſo intimidated, that they diſowned Dundaſs, and Horne his accomplice. They pretended that the affair of the medal had been tranſacted by a party at an occaſional meeting, and not by general conſent; and by a ſolemn act they declared their attachment to the Queen and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The Court was ſatisfied with this atonement: but the Reſident from Hanover having preſented a memorial to the Queen deſiring that Dundaſs and his aſſociates might be proſecuted, the government removed Sir David Dalrymple from his office of Lord-Advocate, on pretence of his having been too remiſs in proſecuting thoſe delinquents: and no further enquiry was made into the affair.

§ XXXIII. For ſome time a negociation for peace had been carried on between the Court of France and the new miniſters, who had a double aim in this meaſure; namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they deteſted, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the conſtitution. They foreſaw the riſque they would run by entering into ſuch meaſures, ſhould ever the oppoſite faction regain the aſcendancy: they knew the Whigs would employ all their art and influence, which was very powerful, in obſtructing the peace, and in raiſing a popular clamour againſt the treaty. But their motives for treating were ſuch as prompted them to undervalue all thoſe difficulties and dangers. They hoped to obtain ſuch advantages in point of com-

merce for the ſubjects of Great-Britain, as would ſilence all detraction. They did not doubt of being able to maintain the ſuperiority which they had acquired in Parliament; and perhaps ſome of them cheriſhed views in favour of the Pretender, whoſe ſucceſſion to the Crown would have effectually eſtabliſhed their dominion over the oppoſite party. The Earl of Jerſey, who acted in concert with Oxford, ſent a private meſſage to the court of France, importing the Queen's earneſt deſire of peace, repreſenting the impoſſibility of a private negociation, as the miniſtry was obliged to act with the utmoſt circumſpection, and deſiring that Louis would propoſe to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which caſe the Engliſh Plenipotentiaries ſhould have ſuch inſtructions, that it would be impoſſible for the States-General to prevent the concluſion of the treaty. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obſcure prieſt, who acted as Chaplain to Count Gallas, the Imperial Ambaſſador, and had been employed as a ſpy by the French miniſtry, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities. His connexion with Lord Jerſey was by means of that nobleman's lady, who profeſſed the Roman Catholick religion. His meſſage was extremely agreeable to the court of Verſailles. He returned to London, with a letter of compliment from the Marquis de Torcy to the Earl of Jerſey, in which that miniſter aſſured him of his maſter's ſincere inclination for peace, though he was averſe to a renewal of the conferences with the States-General. Gualtier wrote a letter to Verſailles, deſiring, in the name of the Engliſh miniſtry, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would communicate to them his propoſals for a general peace, which they would communicate to the States-General, that they might negociate in concert with their Allies. A general anſwer being made to this intimation, Gualtier made a ſecond journey to Verſailles, and brought over a memorial, which was immediately tranſmitted to

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Holland. In the mean time, the Penſionary endeavoured to renew the conferences in Holland. Petkum wrote to the French miniſtry, that if his Majeſty would reſume the negociation, in concert with the Queen of Great-Britain, he ſhould certainly have reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies. This propoſal Louis declined, at the deſire of the Engliſh miniſters.

§ XXXIV. The States-General having peruſed the memorial, aſſured Queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the concluſion of a durable peace: but they expreſſed a deſire that the French King would communicate a more particular plan for ſecuring the intereſt of the allied powers, and for ſettling the repoſe of Europe. Gualtier was once more ſent to Verſailles, accompanied by Mr. Prior, who had reſided in France, as Secretary to the embaſſies of the Earls of Portland and Jerſey. This gentleman had acquired ſome reputation by his poetical talents; was a man of uncommon ability, inſinuating addreſs, and perfectly devoted to the Tory intereſt. He was empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the Engliſh; to receive the anſwer of the French King; and demand whether or not King Philip had tranſmitted a power of treating, to his grandfather. He arrived incognito at Fontainebleau, and preſented the Queen's memorial, in which ſhe demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the Empire: a ſecurity for the Dutch commerce, and a general ſatisfaction to all her Allies. She required that the ſtrong places taken from the Duke of Savoy ſhould be reſtored; and that he ſhould poſſeſs ſuch towns and diſtricts in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his Allies: that Louis ſhould acknowledge Queen Anne and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk; and agree to a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon ſhould be

be yielded to the Crown of England; that the Negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, ſhould be ceded to the Engliſh, together with ſome towns on that continent, where the ſlaves might be refreſhed. She expected ſecurity that her ſubjects trading to Spain ſhould enjoy all advantages granted by that Crown to the moſt favoured nation: that ſhe ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Newfoundland and Hudſon's-Bay, either by way of reſtitution or ceſſion; and that both nations ſhould continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be poſſeſſed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewiſe inſiſted upon a ſecurity that the Crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united on the ſame head. Her Majeſty no longer inſiſted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the exorbitant power of the Houſe of Auſtria would be as dangerous to the liberty of Europe, as ever that of the family of Bourbon had been, in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the exceſſive power, the inſolence, the ambition of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enſlaved ſo many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was ſincerely deſirous of Peace, from motives of humanity and compaſſion to her ſubjects and fellow-creatures: ſhe was eagerly bent upon procuring ſuch advantages to her people, as would enable them to diſcharge the heavy load of debt under which they laboured, and recompence them in ſome meaſure for the blood and treaſure they had ſo laviſhly expended in the proſecution of the war. Theſe were the ſentiments of a Chriſtian Princeſs; of an amiable and pious Sovereign, who bore a ſhare in the grievances of her ſubjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought ſhe had the better title to inſiſt upon thoſe advantages, as they had been already granted to her ſubjects in a private treay with King Charles.

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§ XXXV.

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1711. § XXXV. As Prior's powers were limited in ſuch a manner that he could not negociate, Mr. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the board of Trade, accompanied the Engliſh miniſter to London, with full powers to ſettle the preliminaries of the treaty. On his arrival in London, the Queen immediately commiſſioned the Duke of Shrewſbury, the Earls of Jerſey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him; and the conferences were immediately begun. After long and various diſputes, they agreed upon certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth day of October, were ſigned by the French miniſter, and by the two Secretaries of State, in conſequence of a written order from her Majeſty. Then Menager was privately introduced to the Queen at Windſor. She told him ſhe was averſe to war: that ſhe would exert all her power to conclude a ſpeedy peace: that ſhe ſhould be glad to live upon good terms with the King of France, to whom ſhe was ſo nearly allied in blood: ſhe expreſſed her hope that there would be a cloſer union after the peace between them, and between their ſubjects, cemented by a perfect correſpondence and friendſhip. The Earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he reſided as Ambaſſador, was now ſent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the Penſionary the propoſals of peace which France had made; to ſignify the Queen's approbation of them, and propoſe a place where the Plenipotentiaries ſhould aſſemble. The Engliſh miniſters now engaged in an intimate correſpondence with the court of Verſailles; and Mareſchal Tallard being releaſed from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole. After the departure of Menager, the preliminaries were communicated to Count Gallas, the Emperor's miniſter, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, cauſed them to be tranſlated, and inſerted in one of the daily

daily papers. This ſtep was ſo much reſented by the Queen, that ſhe ſent a meſſage, deſiring he would come no more to court; but that he might leave the kingdom as ſoon as he ſhould think proper. He took the hint, and retired accordingly; but the Queen gave the Emperor to underſtand, that any other miniſter he ſhould appoint would be admitted by her without heſitation. CHAP. X. 1711.

§ XXXVI. The States of Holland, alarmed at the preliminaries, ſent over Buys, as Envoy-Extraordinary, to intercede with the Queen, that ſhe would alter her reſolutions; but ſhe continued ſteady to her purpoſe; and the Earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the States, declaring, in the Queen's name, that ſhe would look upon any delay, on their part, as a refuſal to comply with her propoſitions. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the firſt day of January. They granted paſſports to the French miniſters; while the Queen appointed Robinſon Biſhop of Briſtol, and the Earl of Stafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congreſs. Charles, the new Emperor, being at Milan when he received a copy of the preliminaries, wrote circular letters to the Electors and the Princes of the empire, exhorting them to perſiſt in their engagements to the grand alliance. He likewiſe deſired the States-General to join councils with him in perſuading the Queen of England to reject the propoſals of France, and proſecute the war; or at leaſt to negociate on the foundation of the firſt preliminaries, which had been ſigned by the Marquis de Torcy. He wrote a letter to the ſame purpoſe to the Queen of Great Britain, who received it with the moſt mortifying indifference. No wonder that he ſhould zealouſly contend for the continuance of a war, the expence of which ſhe and the Dutch had hitherto almoſt wholly defrayed. The new preliminaries were ſeverely attacked by the Whigs, who ridiculed and reviled the miniſtry in word

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word and writing. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons were to day publiſhed by one faction, and to-morrow anſwered by the other. They contained all the inſinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterneſs of reproach, and all the rancour of recrimination. In the midſt of this contention the Queen diſpatched the Earl of Rivers to Hanover, with an aſſurance to the Elector, that his ſucceſſion to the Crown ſhould be effectually aſcertained in the treaty. The Earl brought back an anſwer in writing: but, at the ſame time, his Electoral Highneſs ordered Baron de Bothmar, his Envoy in England, to preſent a memorial to the Queen, repreſenting the pernicious conſequences of Philip's remaining in poſſeſſion of Spain and the Weſt Indies. This remonſtrance the Baron publiſhed, by way of appeal to the people, and the Whigs extolled it with the higheſt encomiums: but the Queen and her miniſters reſented this ſtep, as an officious and inflammatory interpoſition.

§ XXXVII. The propoſals of peace made by the French King were diſagreeable even to ſome individuals of the Tory party, and certain Peers, who had hitherto adhered to that intereſt, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonſtrance againſt the preliminary articles. The Court being appriſed of their intention, prorogued the Parliament till the ſeventh day of December, in expectation of the Scottiſh Peers, who could caſt the balance in favour of the miniſtry. In her ſpeech, at the opening of the ſeſſion, ſhe told them, that, notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congreſs: and that the States-General had expreſſed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern ſhould be to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Houſe of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation which a tender and affectionate Sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal

loyal people; and to obtain ſatisfaction for all her Allies. She obſerved, that the moſt effectual way to procure an advantageous peace, would be to make preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. She recommended unanimity, and prayed God would direct their conſultations. In the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Nottingham, who had now aſſociated himſelf with the Whigs, inveighed againſt the preliminaries as captious and inſufficient, and offered a clauſe to be inſerted in the addreſs of thanks, repreſenting to her Majeſty, that, in the opinion of the Houſe, no peace could be ſafe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Weſt Indies ſhould be allotted to any branch of the Houſe of Bourbon. A violent debate enſued, in the courſe of which the Earl of Angleſey repreſented the neceſſity of eaſing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expenſive war. He affirmed that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by ſome perſons who prolonged the war for their own private intereſt. This inſinuation was levelled at the Duke of Marlborough, who made a long ſpeech in his own vindication. He bowed to the place where the Queen ſat incognito; and appealed to her, whether, while he had the honour to ſerve her Majeſty as General and Plenipotentiary, he had not conſtantly informed her and her council of all the propoſals of peace which had been made; and had not deſired inſtructions for his conduct on that ſubject. He declared, upon his conſcience, and in preſence of the Supreme Being, before whom he expected ſoon to appear, that he was ever deſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace; and that he was always very far from entertaining any deſign of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had moſt falſely inſinuated. At laſt the queſtion being put, Whether the Earl of Nottingham's advice ſhould be part of the addreſs; it was

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was carried in the affirmative by a ſmall majority. The addreſs was accordingly preſented, and the Queen, in her anſwer, ſaid ſhe ſhould be very ſorry any one could think ſhe would not do her utmoſt to recover Spain and the Weſt Indies from the Houſe of Bourbon. Againſt this advice, however, ſeveral Peers proteſted, becauſe there was no precedent for inſerting a clauſe of advice in an addreſs of thanks; and becauſe they looked upon it as an invaſion of the Royal prerogative. In the addreſs of the Commons there was no ſuch article; and, therefore, the anſwer they received was warm and cordial.

§ XXXVIII. The Duke of Hamilton claiming a ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, as Duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was oppoſed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foreſee great danger to the conſtitution from admitting into the Houſe a greater number of Scottiſh Peers than the Act of Union allowed. Counſel was heard upon the validity of his patent. They obſerved that no objection could be made to the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours; and that all the ſubjects of the united kingdom were equally capable of receiving honour. The Houſe of Lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the Duke of Queenſberry upon his being created Duke of Dover. The debate was managed with great ability on both ſides: the Scottiſh Peers united in defence of the Duke's claim; and the Court exerted its whole ſtrength to ſupport the patent. Nevertheleſs, the queſtion being put, Whether Scottiſh Peers, created Peers of Great Britain ſince the Union, had a right to ſit in that Houſe; it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices; though not without a proteſt ſigned by the Lords in the oppoſition. The Scottiſh Peers were ſo incenſed at this deciſion, that they drew up a repreſentation to the Queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the Union, and a mark of diſgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. The bill

againſt

againſt occaſional conformity was revived by the Earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than thoſe that had been formerly rejected; and it paſſed both Houſes by the connivance of the Whigs, upon the Earl's promiſe, that if they would conſent to this meaſure, he would bring over many friends to join them in matters of greater conſequence. On the twenty-ſecond day of December, the Queen being indiſpoſed, granted a commiſſion to the Lord-Keeper, and ſome other Peers, to give the Royal aſſent to this bill, and another for the land-tax. The Duke of Devonſhire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all Peers to the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as the Duke of Cambridge. An addreſs was preſented to the Queen, deſiring ſhe would give inſtructions to her Plenipotentiaries, to conſult with the miniſters of the Allies in Holland before the opening of the congreſs; that they might concert the neceſſary meaſures for proceeding with unanimity, the better to obtain the great ends propoſed by her Majeſty.

§ XXXIX. The Commiſſioners for examining the publick accounts, having diſcovered that the Duke of Marlborough had received an annual preſent of five or ſix thouſand pounds from the contractors of bread to the army, the Queen declared in council, that ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which ſhe took occaſion to complain of the treatment ſhe had received. She probably alluded to the inſolence of his Ducheſs; the ſubjection in which ſhe had been kept by the late miniſtry; and the pains lately taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her meaſures with reſpect to the peace. The Duke wrote an anſwer to her Majeſty, vindicating himſelf from the charge which had been brought againſt his character; and his two daughters, the Counteſs of Sunder-

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Sunderland and the Lady Rialton, reſigned their places of Ladies in the Bed-chamber. The miniſtry, in order to aſcertain a majority in the Houſe of Lords, perſuaded the Queen to take a meaſure which nothing but neceſſity could juſtify. She created twelve Peers at once,* and on the ſecond of January they were introduced into the Upper Houſe without oppoſition. The Lord-Keeper delivered to the Houſe a meſſage from the Queen, deſiring they would adjourn to the fourteenth day of the month. The anti-courtiers alledged, that the Queen could not ſend a meſſage to any one Houſe to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both Houſes. This objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favour of the Court by the weight of the twelve new Peers.

§ XL. At this period Prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter to the Queen from the Emperor, and inſtructions to propoſe a new ſcheme for proſecuting the war. His errand was far from being agreeable to the miniſtry; and they ſuſpected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the diſcontented party, who oppoſed the peace. Nevertheleſs, he was treated with that reſpect which was due to his quality and eminent talents. The

* Lord Compton and Lord Bruce, ſons of the Earls of Northampton and Ayleſbury, were called up by writ to the Houſe of Peers. The other ten were theſe: Lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created Baron Hay of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; Lord Viſcount Windſor, of Ireland, made Baron Mountjoy, in the Iſle of Wight; Henry Paget, ſon of Lord Paget, created Baron Burton, in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Manſel, Baron Manſel of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, Baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor, Baron Trevor, of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, Baron Landſdown, of Biddeford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Maſham, Baron Maſham, of Oats, in the county of Eſſex; Thomas Foley, Baron Foley, of Kidderminſter, in the county of Worceſter; and Allen Bathurſt, Baron Bathurſt, of Bathelſden, in the county of Bedford.—On the firſt day of their being introduced, when the queſtion was put about adjourning, the Earl of Wharton aſked one of them, "Whether they voted by their foreman?"

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miniſters, the nobility, and officers of diſtinction, viſited him at his arrival. He was admitted to an audience of the Queen, who received him with great complacency. Having peruſed the letter which he delivered, ſhe expreſſed her concern that her health did not permit her to ſpeak with his Highneſs as often as ſhe could wiſh; but that ſhe had ordered the Treaſurer and Secretary St. John to receive his propoſals, and confer with him as frequently as he ſhould think proper. He expreſſed extraordinary reſpect for the Duke of Marlborough, notwithſtanding his diſgrace. The Lord-Treaſurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared that he looked upon that day as the happieſt in the whole courſe of his life, ſince he had the honour to ſee in his houſe the greateſt Captain of the age. The Prince is ſaid to have replied, "If I am, it is owing to your "Lordſhip." Alluding to the diſgrace of Marlborough, whom the Earl's intrigues had deprived of all military command. When Biſhop Burnet converſed with him about the ſcandalous libels that were every day publiſhed againſt the Duke, and in particular mentioned one paragraph, in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the Prince obſerved, it was the greateſt commendation that could be beſtowed upon him, as it implied that all his other ſucceſſes were owing to his courage and conduct. While the nobility of both parties vied with each other in demonſtrations of reſpect for this noble ſtranger; while he was adored by the Whigs, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in publick; even in the midſt of all theſe careſſes, party riots were excited to inſult his perſon, and ſome ſcandalous reflections upon his mother were inſerted in one of the publick papers. The Queen treated him with diſtinguiſhed marks of regard; and, on her birth-day, preſented him with a ſword worth five thouſand pounds. Nevertheleſs, ſhe looked upon him as a

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patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which ſhe owed ſo much diſquiet. She knew he had been preſſed to come over by the Whig noblemen, who hoped his preſence would enflame the people to ſome deſperate attempt upon the new miniſtry: ſhe was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lord Somers, Hallifax, and all the chiefs of that party; and that he entered into a cloſe connection with the Baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian Envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the diſturbances of the people.

§ XLI. Her Majeſty, who had been for ſome time afflicted with the gout, ſent a meſſage to both Houſes, on the ſeventeenth day of January, ſignifying that the Plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; and that ſhe was employed in making preparations for an early campaign: ſhe hoped, therefore, that the Commons would proceed in giving the neceſſary diſpatch to the ſupplies. The Lord-Treaſurer, in order to demonſtrate his attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, brought in a bill which had been propoſed by the Duke of Devonſhire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the Crown; and, when it was paſſed into an act, he ſent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley. The ſixteen Peers for Scotland were prevailed upon, by promiſe of ſatisfaction, to reſume their ſeats in the Upper Houſe, from which they had abſented themſelves ſince the deciſion againſt the patent of the Duke of Hamilton: but whatever pecuniary recompence they might have obtained from the Court, on which they were meanly dependent, they received no ſatisfaction from the Parliament. The Commons, finding Mr. Walpole very troubleſome in their Houſe, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the Whig intereſt, found means to diſcover ſome clandeſtine practices in which he was concerned as Secretary at War,

War, with regard to the forage-contract in Scotland. The contractors, rather, than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who endorsed it, and his friend touched the money*. This transaction was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the House. Being afterwards re-chosen by the same borough of Lynn-Regis, which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him, and the Commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present Parliament.

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§ XLII. Their next attack was upon the Duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the Queen with ten thousand pounds a year to defray the expence of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It was alledged, in

* The Commissioners appointed for taking, stating, and examining the publick accounts, having made their report touching the conduct of Mr. Walpole, the House, after a long debate, came to the following resolutions: 1. That Robert Walpole, Esq; a member of this House, in receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and in taking a note for five hundred more, on account of two contracts for forage of her Majesty's troops, quartered in North-Britain, made by him when Secretary at War, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late Lord-Treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption. 2. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq; be for the said offence committed prisoner to the Tower of London, during the pleasure of this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly. 3. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq; be for the said offence also expelled the House, and that the report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts be taken into further consideration that day se'ennight.—It appeared from the depositions of witnesses that the publick had been defrauded considerably by these contracts—a very severe speech was made in the House, and next day published, reflecting upon Mr. Walpole, as guilty of the worst kind of corruption; and Sir Peter King declared in the House, that he deserved hanging as well as he deserved imprisonment and expulsion.

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his juſtification, that the preſent from the Jews was a cuſtomary perquiſite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an expreſs warrant from her Majeſty: that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thouſand pounds, a ſum much inferior to that which had been allowed to King William for contingencies; that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was ſo exact that the Duke was never ſurpriſed: that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off; and all the deſigns were by theſe means ſo well concerted, that he never once miſcarried. Notwithſtanding theſe repreſentations the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as publick money. Theſe reſolutions were communicated to the Queen, who ordered the Attorney-General to proſecute the Duke for the money he had deducted by virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarniſhed the glory which the Duke had acquired by his military talents, and other ſhining qualities.

§ XLIII. The Commons now directed the ſtream of their reſentment againſt the Dutch, who had certainly exerted all their endeavours to overwhelm the new miniſtry, and retard the negociations for peace. They maintained an intimate correſpondence with the Whigs of England. They diffuſed the moſt invidious reports againſt Oxford and Secretary St. John. Buys, their Envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in ſuggeſting violent meaſures to the malcontents, and caballing againſt the government. The miniſters, by way of repriſal, influenced the Houſe of Commons to paſs ſome acrimonious reſolutions againſt the States-General. They alledged that the States had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, during

during the whole courſe of the war; and that the Queen had paid above three millions of crowns in ſubſidies, above what ſhe was obliged to advance by her engagements. They attacked the Barrier-treaty, which had been concluded with the States by Lord Townſhend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this agreement, England guarantied a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the States bound themſelves to maintain, with their whole force, the Queen's title, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The Tories affirmed that England was diſgraced by engaging any other State to defend a ſucceſſion which the nation might ſee cauſe to alter: that, by this treaty, the States were authoriſed to interpoſe in Britiſh councils: that, being poſſeſſed of all thoſe ſtrong towns they might exclude the Engliſh from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great-Britain. The Houſe of Commons voted, That in the Barrier-treaty there were ſeveral articles deſtructive to the trade and intereſt of Great-Britain, and therefore highly diſhonourable to her Majeſty: That the Lord Viſcount Townſhend was not authoriſed to conclude ſeveral articles in that treaty: That he and all thoſe who had adviſed its being ratified were enemies to the Queen and Kingdom. All their votes were digeſted into a long repreſentation preſented to the Queen, in which they averred that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions; a circumſtance that implied miſmanagement or fraud in the old miniſtry. The States, alarmed at theſe reſolutions, wrote a reſpectful letter to the Queen, repreſenting the neceſſity of a barrier, for the mutual ſecurity of England and the United Provinces. They afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war; and it was publiſhed in one of the Engliſh papers. The Commons immediately voted it a falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the reſolutions of the Houſe; and the printer,

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and publiſher were taken into cuſtody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

§ XLIV. They now repealed the naturalization act. They paſſed a bill granting a toleration to the Epiſcopal Clergy in Scotland, without paying the leaſt regard to a repreſentation from the General Aſſembly to the Queen, declaring that the act for ſecuring the Preſbyterian government was an eſſential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union. The Houſe notwithſtanding this remonſtrance, proceeded with the bill, and inſerted a clauſe prohibiting civil magiſtrates from executing the ſentences of the Kirk-judicatories. The Epiſcopal, as well as the Preſbyterian clergy, were required to take the oaths of abjuration, that they might be upon an equal footing in caſe of diſobedience; for the Commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both from very different motives. In order to exaſperate the Preſbyterians with further provocations, another act was paſſed for diſcontinuing the Courts of Judicature during the Chriſtmas holydays, which had never been kept by perſons of that perſuaſion. When this bill was read for the third time, Sir David Dalrymple ſaid, "Since the Houſe is reſolved to make no toleration on the body of this bill, I acquieſce; and only deſire it may be entituled, A bill for eſtabliſhing Jacobitiſm and Immorality." The chagrin of the Scottiſh Preſbyterians was completed by a third bill, reſtoring the right of patronage, which had been taken away when the diſcipline of the Kirk was laſt eſtabliſhed. Prince Eugene having preſented a memorial to the Queen, touching the conduct of the Emperor during the war, and containing a propoſal with relation to the affairs of Spain, the Queen communicated the ſcheme to the Houſe of Commons, who treated it with the moſt contemptuous neglect. The Prince, finding all his efforts ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much diſpleaſed with the miniſtry, as he had reaſon

Burnet. Boyer. Lamberty. Quincy. Rouſſet. Torcy. Tindal. Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough. Mil. Hiſt. Voltaire.

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to be ſatisfied with the people of England. The Commons having ſettled the funds for the ſupplies of the year, amounting to ſix millions, the Treaſurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commiſſioners to examine the value and conſideration of all the grants made ſince the Revolution. His deſign was to make a general reſumption: but, as the intereſt of ſo many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm oppoſition; notwithſtanding which it would have certainly paſſed, had not the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Strafford abſented themſelves from the Houſe during the debate.

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dreſs of the Commons about Dunkirk. § XXVIII. *Violence of parties in England.* § XXIX. *Proceedings of the Parliament of Ireland.* § XXX. *New Parliament in England. Writers employed by both parties.* § XXXI. *Treaty of Raſtadt between the Emperor and France.* § XXXII. *Principal articles in the treaty between Great Britain and Spain. Meeting of the Parliament.* § XXXIII. *The Houſe of Lords takes cognizance of a libel againſt the Scots.* § XXXIV. *Mr. Steel expelled the Houſe of Commons.* § XXXV. *Precautions by the Whigs for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.* § XXXVI. *Debates in the Houſe of Lords concerning the Pretender and the Catalans.* § XXXVIII. *They addreſs the Queen to ſet a price on the head of the Pretender.* § XXXVIII. *A writ demanded for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge.* § XXXIX. *Death of the Princeſs Sophia. Bill to prevent the growth of Schiſm.* § XL. *Another againſt all who ſhould liſt, or be inliſted in a foreign ſervice.* § XLI. *The Parliament prorogued.* § XLII. *The Treaſurer diſgraced.* § XLIII. *Precautions taken for ſecuring the peace of the kingdom.* § XLIV. *Death and character of Queen Anne.*

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§ I. IN the month of January the conferences for peace began at Utrecht. The Earl of Jerſey would have been appointed the Plenipotentiary for England, but he dying after the correſpondence with the Court of France was eſtabliſhed, the Queen conferred that charge upon Robinſon, Biſhop of Briſtol, Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of Strafford. The chief of the Dutch Deputies named for the congreſs, were Buys and Vanderduſſen; the French King granted his powers to the Mareſchal D'Uxelles, the Abbot (afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac, and Menager, who had been in England. The miniſters of the Emperor and Savoy likewiſe aſſiſted at the conferences, to which the Empire and the other Allies

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Allies likewiſe ſent their Plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. As all theſe powers, except France, entertained ſentiments very different from thoſe of her Britannick Majeſty, the conferences ſeemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The Queen of England had foreſeen and provided againſt theſe difficulties. Her great end was to free her ſubjects from the miſeries attending an unprofitable war, and to reſtore peace to Europe; and this aim ſhe was reſolved to accompliſh, in ſpite of all oppoſition. She had alſo determined to procure reaſonable terms of accommodation for her Allies, without, however, continuing to laviſh the blood and treaſure of her people in ſupporting their extravagant demands. The Emperor obſtinately inſiſted upon his claim to the whole Spaniſh monarchy, refuſing to give up the leaſt tittle of his pretenſions; and the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Louis had formerly rejected. The Queen ſaw that the liberties of Europe would be expoſed to much greater danger from an actual union of the Imperial and Spaniſh Crowns in one head of the Houſe of Auſtria, than from a bare poſſibility of Spain's being united with France in one branch of the Houſe of Bourbon. She knew by experience the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and that a proſecution of this deſign would ſerve no purpoſe but to protract the war, and augment the grievances of the Britiſh nation. She was well acquainted with the diſtreſſes of the French, which ſhe conſidered as pledges of their monarch's ſincerity. She ſought not the total ruin of that people, already reduced to the brink of deſpair. The dictates of true policy diſſuaded her from contributing to her further conqueſt in that kingdom, which would have proved the ſource of contention among the Allies, depreſſed the Houſe of Bourbon below the ſtandard of importance which the balance of

of Europe required it ſhould maintain, and aggrandize the States-General at the expence of Great-Britain. As ſhe had borne the chief burthen of the war, ſhe had a right to take the lead, and dictate a plan of pacification; at leaſt, ſhe had a right to conſult the welfare of her own kingdom, in delivering, by a ſeparate peace, her ſubjects from thoſe enormous loads which they could no longer ſuſtain; and ſhe was well enough aware of her own conſequence, to think ſhe could not obtain advantageous conditions. CHAP. X. 1711.

§ II. Such were the ſentiments of the Queen; and her miniſters ſeem to have acted on the ſame principles, though perhaps party motives may have helped to influence their conduct. The Allies concurred in oppoſing with all their might any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, intereſt, and ambition. They practiſed a thouſand little artifices to intimidate the Queen, to excite a jealouſy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her miniſters, to raiſe and keep up a dangerous ferment among her people, by which her life and government were endangered. She could not fail to reſent theſe efforts, which greatly perplexed her meaſures, and obſtructed her deſign. Her miniſters were ſenſible of the dangerous predicament in which they ſtood. The Queen's health was much impaired; and the ſucceſſor countenanced the oppoſite faction. In caſe of their ſovereign's death, they had nothing to expect but proſecution and ruin for obeying her commands; they ſaw no hope of ſafety, except in renouncing their principles, and ſubmitting to their adverſaries; or elſe in taking ſuch meaſures as would haſten the pacification, that the troubles of the kingdom might be appeaſed, and the people be ſatisfied with their conduct, before death ſhould deprive them of their ſovereign's protection. With this view they adviſed her to ſet on foot a private negociation with Louis

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to ſtipulate certain advantages for her own ſubjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into ſuch mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandeſtine tranſactions to her prejudice, and in ſome meaſure enable her to preſcribe terms for her Allies. The plan was judiciouſly formed; but executed with too much precipitation. The ſtipulated advantages were not ſuch as ſhe had a right to demand and inſiſt upon; and without all doubt, better might have been obtained, had not the Obſtinacy of the Allies abroad, and the violent conduct of the Whig faction at home obliged the miniſters to relax in ſome material points, and haſten the concluſion of the treaty.

§ III. The articles being privately regulated between the two courts of London and Verſailles, the Engliſh Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furniſhed with general powers and inſtructions, being ignorant of the agreement which the Queen had made with the French monarch, touching the kingdom of Spain, which was indeed the baſis of the treaty. This ſecret plan of negociation, however, had well nigh been deſtroyed by ſome unforeſeen events that were doubly afflicting to Louis. The Dauphin had died of the ſmall-pox in the courſe of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred upon his ſon, the Duke of Burgundy, who now expired on the laſt day of February, ſix days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. The parents were ſoon followed to the grave by their eldeſt offſpring, the Duke of Bretagne, in the ſixth year of his age; ſo that the Duke of Burgundy's children, none remained alive but the Duke of Anjou, the late French King, who was at that time a ſickly infant. Such a ſeries of calamities could not fail of being extremely ſhocking to Louis in his old age; but they were ſtill more alarming to the Queen of England, who ſaw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies

monarchies of France and Spain, the union of which ſhe reſolved by all poſſible means to prevent. She therefore ſent the Abbê Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, repreſenting the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be expoſed, ſhould Philip aſcend the throne of France; and demanding, that his title ſhould be transferred to his brother, the Duke of Berry, in conſequence of his pure, ſimple, and voluntary renunciation.

§ IV. Meanwhile the French Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed upon to deliver their propoſals in writing, under the name of ſpecifick offers, which the Allies received with indignation. They were treated in England with univerſal ſcorn. Lord Hallifax, in the Houſe of Peers, termed them trifling, arrogant and injurious to her Majeſty and her Allies. An Addreſs was preſented to the Queen, in which they expreſſed their reſentment againſt the inſolence of France, and promiſed to aſſiſt her with all their power in proſecuting the war, until a ſafe and honourable peace ſhould be obtained. The Plenipotentiaries of the Allies were not leſs extravagant in their ſpecifick demands than the French had been arrogant in their offers. In a word, the miniſters ſeemed to have been aſſembled at Utrecht, rather to ſtart new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to heal animoſities, and concert a plan of pacification. They amuſed one another with fruitleſs conferences, while the Queen of Great-Britain endeavoured to engage the States-General in her meaſures, that they might treat with France upon moderate terms, and give law to the reſt of the Allies. She departed from ſome of her own pretenſions, in order to gratify them with the poſſeſſion of ſome towns in Flanders. She conſented to their being admitted into a participation of ſome advantages in commerce; and ordered the Engliſh miniſters at the Congreſs to tell them, that ſhe would take her meaſures according to the return they

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ſhould make on this occaſion. Finding them ſtill obſtinately attached to their firſt chimerical preliminaries, ſhe gave them to underſtand, that all her offers for adjuſting the differences were founded upon the expreſs condition, That they ſhould come into her meaſures, and co-operate with her openly and ſincerely; but they had made ſuch bad returns to all her condeſcenſion towards them, that ſhe looked upon herſelf as releaſed from all engagements. The miniſters of the Allies had inſiſted upon a written anſwer to their ſpecifick demands; and this the French Plenipotentiaries declined, until they ſhould receive freſh inſtructions from their Maſter. Such was the pretence for ſuſpending the conferences: but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France, was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which at length, however, arrived; and produced a ceſſation of arms.

§ V. In the mean time the Duke of Ormond, who was now inveſted with the ſupreme command of the Britiſh forces, received a particualar order, that he ſhould not hazard an engagement. Louis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandſon. Reflecting on his own great age, he was ſhocked at the proſpect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority; and determined to procure a peace at all events. The Queen, knowing his motives, could not help believing his proteſtations, and reſolved to avoid a battle, the iſſue of which might have conſiderably altered the ſituation of affairs, and conſequently retarded the concluſion of the treaty. Preparations had been made for an early campaign. In the beginning of March, the Earl of Albermarle, having aſſembled a body of thirty-ſix battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to a heap of aſhes by a moſt terrible cannonading and bombardment. In May, the Duke of Ormond conferred with the deputies of the States-General at the Hague, and aſſured

assured them that he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He joined Prince Eugene at Tournay; and, on the twenty-sixth day of May, the allied army, passing the Schelde, encamped at Haspre and Solemnes. The Imperial General proposed that they should attack the French army under Villars: but by this time the Duke was restrained from hazarding a siege or battle; a circumstance well known to the French commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance. It could not be long concealed from Prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith dispatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the Duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obedience of such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation; and in a letter to Secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the Queen would permit him to return to England. CHAP. X. 1712.

§ VI. Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the Queen's order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the Duke furnished towards this enterprise seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great-Britain. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the Bishop of Bristol upon the Duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that Prelate told them, that he had lately received an express, with a letter from her Majesty, in which she complained, that as the States-General had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprized, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures in order to obtain a peace for her own conveniency. When they remonstrated against such conduct, as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the Queen and the States-General, the Bishop declared his instructions further imported, thas considering the conduct of the States towards her Majesty, she

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thought herſelf diſengaged from all alliances and engagements with their High Mightineſſes. The States and the miniſters of the Allies were inſtantly in commotion. Private meaſures were concerted with the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and ſome other princes of the Empire, concerning the troops belonging to thoſe powers in the pay of Great Britain. The States-General wrote a long letter to the Queen, and ordered their Envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzerdorf, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary, diſpatched expreſſes to his maſter, to Prince Eugene, and to the Imperial Ambaſſador at London. The Queen held a council at Kenſington upon the ſubject of the letter; and a freſh order was ſent to the Duke of Ormond, directing him to concur with the general of the Allies in a ſiege.

§ VII. On the twenty-eighth day of May, Lord Halliſax, in the Houſe of Peers, deſcanted upon the ill conſequences of the Duke's refuſing to cooperate with Prince Eugene, and moved for an addreſs deſiring her Majeſty would order the general to act offenſively, in concert with her Allies. The Treaſurer obſerved it was prudent to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, eſpecially conſidering they had to do with an enemy ſo apt to break his word. The Earl of Wharton replied, this was a ſtrong reaſon for keeping no meaſures with ſuch an enemy. When Oxford declared, that the Duke of Ormond had received orders to join the Allies in a ſiege, the Duke of Marlborough affirmed it was impoſſible to carry on a ſiege without either hazarding a battle, in caſe the enemy ſhould attempt to relieve the place, or ſhamefully abandoning the enterprize. The Duke of Argyle having declared his opinion, that ſince the time of Julius Cæſar there had not been a greater captain than Prince Eugene of Savoy, obſerved, that, conſidering the different intereſts of the Houſe of Auſtria

Auſtria and of Great Britain, it might not conſiſt with prudence to truſt him with the management of the war, becauſe a battle won or loſt might entirely break off a negociation of peace, which in all probability was near being concluded. He added, that two years before, the Confederates might have taken Arras and Cambray, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with the inſignificant conqueſts of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. The Duke of Devonſhire ſaid he was, by proximity of blood, more concerned than any other in the reputation of the Duke of Ormond: and, therefore, could not help expreſſing his ſurprize, that any one would dare to make a nobleman of the firſt rank, and of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character, the inſtrument of ſuch proceedings. Earl Paulet anſwered, that nobody could doubt the Duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain General, who led troops to the ſlaughter, to cauſe a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by diſpoſing of their commiſſions. The Duke of Marlborough was ſo deeply affected by this reflection, that though he ſuppreſſed his reſentment in the Houſe, he took the firſt opportunity to ſend Lord Mohun to the Earl with a meſſage, importing, that he ſhould be glad to come to an explanation with his Lordſhip about ſome expreſſions he had uſed in that day's debate; and deſiring his company to take the air in the country. The Earl underſtood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the obſervation of his lady, by whoſe means the affair was communicated to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State. Two ſentinels were immediately placed at his Lordſhip's gate: the Queen, by the canal of Lord Dartmouth, deſired the Duke of Marlborough would proceed no farther in the quarrel; and he aſſured her he would punctually obey her Majeſty's commands. The Earl of Oxford aſſured the Houſe, that a ſeparate

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peace was never intended; that ſuch a peace would be ſo baſe, ſo knaviſh, and ſo villainous, that every one who ſerved the Queen knew they muſt anſwer it with their heads to the nation; but that it would appear to be a ſafe and glorious peace, much more to the honour and intereſt of the nation, than the firſt preliminaries inſiſted upon by the Allies. The queſtion being put for adjourning, was after a long debate, carried in the affirmative; but twenty Lords entered a proteſt. The Earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, propoſed, that they ſhould examine the negociations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, before they conſidered that of Utrecht. He obſerved, that in the former negociations the French miniſters had conferred only with the Penſionary, who communicated no more of it to the miniſters of the Allies than what was judged proper to let them know; ſo that the Dutch were abſolute maſters of the ſecret. He aſſerted that the States-General had conſented to give Naples and Sicily to King Philip; a circumſtance which proved that the recovery of the whole Spaniſh monarchy was looked upon as impracticable. He concluded with a motion for an addreſs to her Majeſty, deſiring that the papers relating to the negociations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg ſhould be laid before the Houſe. This was carried without a diviſion.

§ VIII. In the Houſe of Commons Mr. Pulteney moved for an addreſs, acquainting her Majeſty that her faithful Commons were juſtly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her General in Flanders had declined acting offenſively againſt France in concurrence with her Allies; and beſeeching her Majeſty, that he might receive ſpeedy inſtructions to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. This motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain member having inſinuated, that the preſent negociation had been carried on in a clandeſtine and treacherous manner, Mr. Secretary St. John

St. John ſaid, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great Britain: that he gloried in the ſmall ſhare he had in the tranſaction; and whatever cenſure he might undergo for it, the bare ſatisfaction of acting in that view would be a ſufficient recompence and comfort to him during the whole courſe of his life. The Houſe reſolved, That the Commons had an entire confidence in her Majeſty's promiſe, to communicate to her Parliament the terms of the peace before it ſhould be concluded; and, That they would ſupport her againſt all ſuch perſons, either at home or abroad, as ſhould endeavour to obſtruct the pacification. The Queen thanked them heartily for this reſolution, as being dutiful to her, honeſt to their country, and very ſeaſonable at a time when ſo many artifices were uſed to obſtruct a good peace, or to force one diſadvantageous to Britain. They likewiſe preſented an addreſs, deſiring they might have an account of the negociations and tranſactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and know who were then employed as her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries. CHAP. XI. 1712.

§ IX. The miniſtry, foreſeeing that Philip would not willingly reſign his hopes of ſucceeding to the crown of France, propoſed an alternative, that, in caſe of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France to the preſent poſſeſſion of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, ſhould be forthwith ceded to the Duke of Savoy; that Philip, in the mean time, ſhould poſſeſs the Duke's hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of Sicily, together with Monſerrat and Mantua; all which territories ſhould be annexed to France at Philip's ſucceſſion to that crown, except Sicily, which ſhould revert to the Houſe of Auſtria. Louis ſeemed to reliſh this expedient, which however, was rejected by Philip, who choſe to make the renunciation, rather than quit the throne upon which he was eſtabliſhed. The

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Queen demanded, that the renunciation ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner by the States of France; but ſhe afterwards waved this demand, in conſideration of its being regiſtered in the different Parliaments. Such forms are but ſlender ſecurities againſt the power, ambition, and intereſt of princes. The Marquis de Torcy frankly owned, that Philip's renunciation was of itſelf void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and conſtitution of the French monarchy; but it was found neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh people. Every material article being now adjuſted between the two courts, particularly thoſe relating to the King of Spain, the commerce of Great Britain, and the delivery of Dunkirk, a ſuſpenſion of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the Duke of Ormond acted in concert with Mareſchal de Villars.

§ X. On the ſixth day of June the Queen going to the Houſe of Peers, communicated the plan of peace to her Parliament, according to the promiſe ſhe had made. After having premiſed, that the making peace and war was the undoubted prerogatives of the Crown, and hinted at the difficulties which had ariſen both from the nature of the affair, and numberleſs obſtructions contrived by the enemies of peace, ſhe proceeded to enumerate the chief articles to which both Crowns had agreed, without, however, concluding the treaty. She told them ſhe had ſecured the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, which France had acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms; and that the Pretender would be removed from the French dominions; that the Duke of Anjou ſhould renounce for himſelf and his deſcendants all claim to the crown of France; ſo that the two monarchies would be for ever divided. She obſerved, that the nature of this propoſal was ſuch as would execute itſelf: that it would be the intereſt of Spain to ſupport the renunciation; and in France, the perſons intitled to the ſucceſſion of that Crown upon

upon the Death of the Dauphin, were powerful enough to vindicate their own right. She gave them to understand that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted; but proviſion was made, that England ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges that France granted to the moſt favoured nation: that the French King had agreed to make an abſolute ceſſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations: that he had alſo conſented to reſtore the whole bay and ſtraits of Hudſon; to deliver the iſland of Newfoundland, with Placentia; to cede Annapolis, with the reſt of Acadia or Nova Scotia; to demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk; to leave England in poſſeſſion of Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, and the whole iſland of Minorca; to let the trade of Spain in the Weſt Indies be ſettled as it was in the reign of his late Catholick Majeſty: ſhe ſignified that ſhe had obtained for her ſubjects the aſſiento, or contract, for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with negroes, for the term of thirty years, in the ſame manner as it had been enjoyed by the French. With reſpect to the Allies, ſhe declared, that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Briſac, Fort Kehl, and Landau, and raze all the fortreſſes both on the other ſide of the Rhine, and in the iſlands of that river; that the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany would be re-ſettled on the footing of the treaty of Weſtphalia; that the Spaniſh Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coaſt of Tuſcany, might be yielded to his Imperial Majeſty; but the diſpoſition of Sicily was not yet determined; that the demands of the States-General with relation to commerce, and the barrier in the Low Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compenſated by other expedients; that no great progreſs had yet been

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made upon the pretenſions of Portugal; but that thoſe of Pruſſia would be admitted by France without much difficulty: that the difference between the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and nine, and that which France now offered, was very inconſiderable: that the Elector Palatine ſhould maintain his preſent rank among the Electors; and that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the Houſe of Hanover. Such were the conditions which the Queen hoped would make ſome amends to her ſubjects, for the great and unequal burthen they had borne during the whole courſe of the war. She concluded with ſaying, ſhe made no doubt but they were fully perſuaded, that nothing would be neglected on her part, in the progreſs of this negociation, to bring the peace to an happy and ſpeedy iſſue; and ſhe expreſſed her dependence upon the entire confidence and cheerful concurrence of her Parliament.

§ XI. An addreſs of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and preſented to the Queen by the Commons in a body. When the Houſe of Lords took the ſpeech into conſideration, the Duke of Marlborough aſſerted, that the meaſures purſued for a year paſt were directly contrary to her Majeſty's engagements with the Allies: that they ſullied the triumphs and glories of her reign; and would render the Engliſh name odious to all nations. The Earl of Strafford ſaid, that ſome of the Allies would not have ſhewn ſuch backwardneſs to a peace, had they not been perſuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illuſtrious aſſembly, who maintained a ſecret correſpondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be ſupported by a ſtrong party in England. In anſwer to this inſinuation againſt Marlborough, Lord Cowper obſerved, that it could never be ſuggeſted as a crime in the meaneſt ſubject, much leſs in any member

member of that auguſt aſſembly, to hold correſpondence with the Allies of the nation; ſuch Allies, eſpecially, whoſe intereſt her Majeſty had declared to be inſeparable from her own, in her ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion; whereas it would be a hard matter to juſtify and reconcile either with our laws, or with laws of honour and juſtice, the conduct of ſome perſons, in treating clandeſtinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the Allies. This was a frivolous argument. A correſpondence with any perſons whatſoever becomes criminal, when it tends to foment the diviſions of one's country, and arm the people againſt their ſovereign. If England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of juſtice and honour, to withdraw herſelf from a confederacy which ſhe could no longer ſupport, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was ſhe not an aſſociate but a ſlave to the alliance. The Earl of Godolphin affirmed, that the trade to Spain was ſuch a trifle as deſerved no conſideration; and that it would continually diminiſh, until it ſhould be entirely engroſſed by the French merchants. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances againſt the plan of peace, the majority agreed to an addreſs, in which they thanked the Queen for her extraordinary condeſcenſion in communicating thoſe conditions to her Parliament; and expreſſed an entire ſatisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clauſe in the addreſs, deſiring her Majeſty would take ſuch meaſures, in concert with her Allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guarantee. A debate enſued: the queſtion was put, and the clauſe rejected. Several noblemen entered a proteſt, which was expunged from the Journals of the Houſe by the deciſion of the majority.

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§ XII. In the Houſe of Commons, a complaint was exhibited againſt Biſhop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four ſermons which he had publiſhed,

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took occaſion to extol the laſt miniſtry, at the expence of the preſent adminiſtration. This piece was voted malicious and factious, tending to create diſcord and ſedition amongſt her Majeſty's ſubjects, and condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They preſented an addreſs to the Queen, aſſuring her of the juſt ſenſe they had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publiſhing a letter from the States-General to her Majeſty; and deſiring ſhe would ſo far reſent ſuch inſults, as to give no anſwer for the future to any letters or memorials that ſhould be thus uſhered into the world, as inflammatory appeals to the publick. Mr. Hampden moved for an addreſs to her Majeſty, that ſhe would give particular inſtructions to her Plenipotentiaries, that in the concluſion of the treaty of peace, the ſeveral powers in alliance with her Majeſty might be guarantees for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover. The queſtion being put, was carried in the negative. Then the Houſe reſolved, That they had ſuch confidence in the repeated declarations her Majeſty had made of her concern for aſſuring to theſe kingdoms the Proteſtant ſucceſſion as by law eſtabliſhed, that they could never doubt of her taking the proper meaſures for the ſecurity thereof: that the Houſe would ſupport her againſt faction at home and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beſeech her, that ſhe would be pleaſed to diſcountenance all thoſe who ſhould endeavour to raiſe jealouſies between her Majeſty and her ſubjects, eſpecially by miſrepreſenting her good intentions for the welfare of her people. The Queen was extremely pleaſed with this reſolution. When it was preſented, ſhe told them, that they had ſhewn themſelves honeſt aſſerters of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the conſtitution, and real friends to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. She thought ſhe had very little reaſon to countenance a compliment of ſupererogation to a Prince who had caballed

caballed with the enemies of her adminiſtration. On the twenty-firſt day of June the Queen cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, expreſſing her ſatisfaction at the addreſſes and ſupplies ſhe had received: ſhe obſerved, that ſhould the treaty be broke off, their burthens would be at leaſt continued, if not increaſed; that Britain would loſe the preſent opportunity of improving her own commerce, and eſtabliſhing a real balance of power in Europe; and that though ſome of the Allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the reſt would ſuffer in the common calamity. Notwithſtanding the ferment of the people, which was now riſen to a very dangerous pitch, addreſſes approving the Queen's conduct, were preſented by the city of London, and all the corporations in the kingdom that eſpouſed the Tory intereſt. At this juncture the nation was ſo wholly poſſeſſed by the ſpirit of party, that no appearance of neutrality or moderation remained. CHAP. XI. 1713.

§ XIII. During theſe tranſactions the trenches were opened before Queſnoy, and the ſiege carried on with uncommon vigour under cover of the forces commanded by the Duke of Ormond. This nobleman, however, having received a copy of the articles ſigned by the Marquis de Torcy, and freſh inſtructions from the Queen, ſignified to the Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, that the French King had agreed to ſeveral articles demanded by the Queen, as the foundation of an armiſtice; and among others to put the Engliſh troops in immediate poſſeſſion of Dunkirk: that he could therefore no longer cover the ſiege of Queſnoy, as he was obliged by his inſtructions to march with the Britiſh troops, and thoſe in the Queen's pay, and declare a ſuſpenſion of arms as ſoon as he ſhould be poſſeſſed of Dunkirk. He expreſſed his hope, that they would readily acquieſce in theſe inſtructions, ſeeing their concurrence would act as the moſt powerful motive to induce the Queen to take all poſ-

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sible care of their interests at the congress; and he endeavoured to demonstrate, that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the Allies than Quesnoy. The Deputies desired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to consult their principals, and he granted three days without hesitation. Prince Eugene observed, that his marching off with the British troops, and the foreigners in the Queen's pay, would leave the Allies at the mercy of the enemy: but he hoped these last would not obey the Duke's order. He and the Deputies had already tampered with their commanding officers, who absolutely refused to obey the Duke of Ormond, alledging that they could not separate from the confederacy without express directions from their masters, to whom they had dispatched couriers. An extraordinary assembly of the States was immediately summoned to meet at the Hague. The ministers of the Allies were invited to the conferences. At length, the Princes whose troops were in the pay of Britain assured them, that they would maintain them under the command of Prince Eugene for one month at their own expence, and afterwards sustain half the charge, provided the other half should be defrayed by the Emperor and States-General.

§ XIV. The Bishop of Bristol imparted to the other Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht the concessions which France would make to the Allies; and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the Confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject. Count Zinzendorf, the first Imperial Plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the States-General, explaining the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms; and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal

renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spaniſh monarchy to the Houſe of Auſtria, and a certain plan for proſecuting the war with redoubled ardour. Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the Confederates with ſome bold enterprize, detached Major General Groveſtein, with fifteen hundred cavalry to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, paſſed the Noire, the Maeſe, the Moſelle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hoſtages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to aſhes. The conſternation produced by this irruption reached the city of Paris: the King of France did not think himſelf ſafe at Verſailles with his ordinary guards: all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were aſſembled about the palace. Villars ſent a detachment after Groveſtein, as ſoon as he underſtood his deſtination: but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops which had the mortification to follow him ſo cloſe, that they found the flames ſtill burning in the villages he had deſtroyed. By way of rataliation, Major-General Paſteur, a French partiſan, made an excurſion beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and ravaged the iſland of Tortola belonging to Zealand.

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§ XV. The Earl of Strafford having returned to Holland, propoſed a ceſſation of arms to the States-General, by whom it was rejected. Then he proceeded to the army of the Duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Queſnoy, the garriſon of which were made priſoners of war on the fourth day of July. The officers of the foreign troops had a ſecond time refuſed to obey a written order of the Duke; and ſuch a ſpirit of animoſity began to prevail between the Engliſh and Allies, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to effect a ſpeedy ſeparation. Prince Eugene reſolved to undertake

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dertake the ſiege of Landrecy: a deſign is ſaid to have been formed by the German generals to confine the Duke, on pretence of the arrears that were due to them; and to diſarm the Britiſh troops, leſt they ſhould join the French army. In the mean time a literary correſpondence was maintained between the Engliſh general and the Mareſchal de Villars. France having conſented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was tranſported from England under the command of Brigadier Hill, who took poſſeſſion of the place on the ſeventh day of July; the French garriſon retired to Winoxberg. On the ſixteenth of the ſame month Prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haſpre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the Britiſh pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holſtein-Gottorp, and Walef's regiment of dragoons, belonging to the State of Leige.

§ XVI. Landrecy was immediately inveſted; while the Duke of Ormond, with the Engliſh forces, removed from Chateau-Cambreſis, and encamping at Avenſne-le-Secq, proclaimed by ſound of trumpet a ceſſation of arms for two months. On the ſame day the like armiſtice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were ſo exaſperated at the ſeceſſion of the Engliſh troops, that the governors would not allow the Earl of Strafford to enter Bouchaine, nor the Britiſh army to paſs through Douay, though in that town they had left a great quantity of ſtores, together with their general hoſpital. Prince Eugene and the Dutch Deputies, underſtanding that the Duke of Ormond had begun his march towards Ghent, began to be in pain for that city, and ſent Count Naſſau Woodenburgh to him with a written apology, condemning and diſavowing the conduct and commandants of Bouchaine and Douay: but, notwithſtanding theſe excuſes, the Engliſh troops afterwards met with the ſame treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Liſle: inſults which

which were reſented by the whole Britiſh nation. The Duke, however, purſued his march, and took poſſeſſion of Ghent and Bruges for the Queen of England: then he reinforced the garriſon of Dunkirk, which he likewiſe ſupplied with artillery and ammunition. His conduct was no leſs agreeable to his ſovereign, than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the Engliſh, and were now fairly outwitted and anticipated by the motions and expedition of the Britiſh general.

§ XVII. The loſs of the Britiſh forces was ſoon ſeverely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a ſeparate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the Earl of Albermarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and ſeventeen battalions either killed or taken. The Earl himſelf and all the ſurviving officers were made priſoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of braſs cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and proviſions, a great number of horſes, and conſiderable booty fell into the hands of the enemy: this advantage they gained in ſight of Prince Eugene, who advanced on the other ſide of the Schelde to ſuſtain Albermarle; but the bridge over that river was broke down by accident; ſo that he was prevented from lending the leaſt aſſiſtance. Villars immediately inveſted Merchiennes, where the principal ſtores of the Allies were lodged. The place was ſurrendered on the laſt day of July: and the garriſon, conſiſting of five thouſand men, were conducted priſoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the ſiege of Douay; an enterprize, in conſequence of which Prince Eugene abandoned his deſign on Landrecy, and marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement. The States, however, would not run the riſque; and the Prince had the mortification to ſee Douay reduced by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking

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retaking Queſnoy and Bouchain, of which places they were in poſſeſſion before the tenth day of October. The Allies enjoyed no other compenſation for their great loſſes, but the conqueſt of Fort Knocque, which was ſurprized by one of their partiſans.

§ XVIII. The Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs continued to preſs the Dutch and other Allies to join in the armiſtice: but they were deaf to the propoſal, and concerted meaſures for a vigorous proſecution of the war. Then the Earl of Strafford inſiſted upon their admitting to the congreſs the Plenipotentiaries of King Philip: but he found them equally averſe to this expedient. In the beginning of Auguſt, Secretary St. John, now created Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſent to the court of Verſailles incognito, to remove all obſtructions to the treaty between England and France. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and the Abbé Gualtier, treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect, careſſed by the French King and the Marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjuſted the principal intereſts of the Duke of Savoy and the Elector of Bavaria. He ſettled the time and manner of the renunciation, and agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms by ſea and land for four months between the crowns of France and England: this was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. The negociation being finiſhed in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as Reſident at the court of France. The States-General breathed nothing but war: the Penſionary Heinſius pronounced an oration in their aſſembly, repreſenting the impoſſibility of concluding a peace without loſing the fruits of all the blood and treaſure they had expended. The conferences at Utrecht were interrupted by a quarrel between the domeſticks of Menager, and thoſe of the Count de Rechteren, one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries. The populace inſulted the Earl of Strafford and the

Marquis del Borgo, minister of Savoy, whose master was reported to have agreed to the armistice. These obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British Plenipotentiaries exerted all their rhetorick, both in publick and private, to engage the Allies in the Queen's measures. At length the Duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been sent ambassador to Hanover, with a view to persuade the Elector that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her Majesty: but that Prince's resolution was already taken. "Whenever "it shall please God (said he) to call me to the "throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me "for the advantage of my people: in the mean "time, speak to me as to a German Prince, and a "Prince of the Empire." Nor was she more successful in her endeavours to bring over the King of Prussia to her sentiments. In the mean time, Lord Lexington was appointed ambassador to Madrid, where King Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the Cortez. The like renunciation to the crown of Spain was afterwards made by the Princes of France; and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the remonstrances of England, until the Marquis de Bay invaded that kingdom at the head of twenty thousand men, and undertook the siege of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannick Majesty. The Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh day of November, and excused this step to the Allies, as the pure effect of necessity. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of Count Staremberg, and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked on

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on board an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Sir John Jennings, and tranſported to Minorca.

§ XIX. The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the Duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party diſputes were become more violent than ever. The Whigs affected to celebrate the anniverſary of the late King's birth-day, in London, with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions; and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous ſcheme was contrived to frighten the Lord Treaſurer with ſome ſquibs in a band-box, which the miniſters magnified into a conſpiracy. The Duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambaſſador-extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed on the ſuppoſition that this nobleman favoured the Pretender. Some diſpute ariſing between the Duke and Lord Mohun, on the ſubject of a law-ſuit, furniſhed a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murther, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the hector of the Whig party, ſent a meſſage by General Macartney to the Duke, challenging him to ſingle combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde Park, attended by Macartney and Colonel Hamilton. They fought with ſuch fury, that Mohun was killed upon the ſpot, and the Duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own houſe. Macartney diſappeared, and eſcaped in diſguiſe to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy-council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately diſarmed; but the Colonel ſeeing the Duke fall upon his antagoniſt, threw away the ſwords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raiſing the Duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the ſwords, ſtabbed his Grace over Hamilton's ſhoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was iſſued, promiſing a reward of five hundred pounds

to thoſe who ſhould apprehend or diſcover Macartney, and the Ducheſs of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the ſame purpoſe. The Tories exclaimed againſt this event as a party-duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly aſſaſſin; and affirmed that the Whigs had poſted others of the ſame ſtamp all round Hyde-park, to murther the Duke of Hamilton, in caſe he had triumphed over his antagoniſt, and eſcaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards ſubmitted to a fair trial, at which Colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the teſtimony of divers perſons who ſaw the combat at a diſtance. The Duke of Marlborough, hearing himſelf accuſed as the author of thoſe party miſchiefs, and ſeeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by his Ducheſs. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, diſpaſſionate Miniſter, who had rendered himſelf neceſſary to four ſucceſſive Sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal ſkill and integrity. The Duke of Shrewſbury was nominated Ambaſſador to France, in the room of the Duke of Hamilton: the Duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the ſame quality from the Court of Verſailles; and about the ſame time the Queen granted an audience to the Marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had appointed one of his Plenipotentiaries at the Congreſs.

§ XX. In vain had the Britiſh miniſters in Holland endeavoured to overcome the obſtinacy of the States-General, by alternate threats, promiſes, and arguments. In vain did they repreſent, that the confederacy againſt France could be no longer ſupported with any proſpect of ſucceſs: that the Queen's

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aim had been to procure reaſonable terms for her allies; but that their oppoſition to her meaſures prevented her from obtaining ſuch conditions as ſhe would have a right to demand in their favour, were they unanimous in their conſultations. In November, the Earl of Strafford preſented a new plan of peace, in which the Queen promiſed to inſiſt upon France's ceding to the States the city of Tournay, and ſome other places which they could not expect to poſſeſs, ſhould ſhe conclude a ſeparate treaty. They now began to waver in their councils. The firſt tranſports of their reſentment having ſubſided, they plainly perceived that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burthen which they could not bear, eſpecially ſince the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal had deſerted the alliance: beſides, they were ſtaggered by the affair of the new barrier, ſo much more advantageous than that which France had propoſed in the beginning of the conferences. They were influenced by another motive: namely, the apprehenſion of new miſchiefs to the Empire from the King of Sweden, whoſe affairs ſeemed to take a favourable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the interceſſion of the French monarch. The Czar and King Auguſtus had penetrated into Pomerania: the King of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid Hamburgh under contribution; but Count Steenbock, the Swediſh General, defeated the Daniſh army in Mecklenburg, ravaged Holſtein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to aſhes. The Grand Signor threatened to declare war againſt the Czar, on pretence that he had not performed ſome eſſential articles of the late peace; but his real motive was an inclination to ſupport the King of Sweden. This diſpoſition, however, was defeated by a powerful party at the Porte, who were averſe to war. Charles, who ſtill remained at Bender, was deſired to return to his own kingdom, and given to underſtand,

ſtand, that the Sultan would procure him a ſafe paſſage. He treated the perſon who brought this intimation with the moſt outrageous inſolence; rejected the propoſal; fortified his houſe, and reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. Being attacked by a conſiderable body of Turkiſh forces, he and his attendants fought with the moſt frantick valour. They ſlew ſome hundreds of the aſſailants; but at laſt the Turks ſet fire to the houſe: ſo that he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his followers, who were generally ſold for ſlaves. He himſelf was conveyed under a ſtrong guard to Adrianople. Meanwhile the Czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced. Steenbock maintained himſelf in Tonningen until all his ſupplies were cut off; and then he was obliged to deliver himſelf and his troops priſoners of war. But this reverſe was not foreſeen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muſcovites, and were given to underſtand that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that caſe, they knew the Emperor would recall great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burthen of the war muſt lie upon their ſhoulders. After various conſultations in their different aſſemblies, they came into the Queen's meaſures, and ſigned the Barrier treaty. CHAP. XI. 1712.

§ XXI. Then the Plenipotentiaries of the four Aſſociated Circles preſented a remonſtrance to the Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht, imploring the Queen's interpoſition in their favour, that they might not be left in the miſerable condition to which they had been reduced by former treaties. They were given to underſtand, that if they ſhould not obtain what they deſired, they themſelves would be juſtly blamed as the authors of their own diſappointment: that they had been deficient in furniſhing their proportion of troops and other neceſſaries; and left the whole burthen of the war to fall upon the Queen and the States in the Netherlands: that when a ceſ-

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sation was judged neceſſary, they had deſerted her Majeſty to follow the chimerical projects of Prince Eugene; that while ſhe proſecuted the war with the utmoſt vigour, they had acted with coldneſs and indifference; but when ſhe inclined to peace they began to exert themſelves in proſecuting hoſtilities with uncommon eagerneſs: that, nevertheleſs, ſhe would not abandon their intereſts, but endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand. Even the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries began to talk in more moderate terms. Zinzendorf declared that his Maſter was very well diſpoſed to promote a general peace, and no longer inſiſted on a ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy to the Houſe of Auſtria. Philip's Miniſters, together with thoſe of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the Congreſs; and now the Plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the reſt of the Allies.

§ XXII. The pacification between France and England was retarded, however, by ſome unforeſeen difficulties that aroſe in adjuſting the commerce and the limits of the countries poſſeſſed by both nations in North America. A long diſpute enſued; and the Duke of Shrewſbury and Prior held many conferences with the French Miniſtry: at length it was compromiſed, though not much to the advantage of Great-Britain; and the Engliſh Plenipotentiaries received an order to ſign a ſeparate treaty. They declared to the Miniſters of the other Powers, that they and ſome other Plenipotentiaries were ready to ſign their reſpective treaties on the eleventh day of April. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to poſtpone this tranſaction until he ſhould be furniſhed with freſh inſtructions from Vienna; and even threatened that if the States ſhould ſign the peace contrary to his deſire, the Emperor would immediately withdraw his troops from the Netherlands. The Miniſters of Great-Britain agreed with thoſe of France, that his Imperial

Burnet, Boyer. Hare. Lamberty. Quincy. Rouſſet. Torcy.

Imperial Majeſty ſhould have time to conſider whether he would or would not accept the propoſals: but this time was extended no farther than the firſt day of June; nor would they agree to a ceſſation of arms during that interval. Meanwhile the peace with France was ſigned in different treaties by the Plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Savoy, Pruſſia, Portugal, and the States-General. On the fourteenth day of the month, the Britiſh Plenipotentiaries delivered to Count Zinzendorf, in writing, "Offers and "demands of the French King for making peace "with the Houſe of Auſtria and the Empire." The Count and the Miniſters of the German Princes exclaimed againſt the inſolence of France, which had not even beſtowed the title of Emperor on Joſeph; but wanted to impoſe terms upon them, with relation to the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria.

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§ XXXIII. The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the Queen of England, the Parliament was aſſembled on the ninth day of April. The Queen told them the treaty was ſigned, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged. She ſaid, what ſhe had done for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip ſubſiſting between her and the Houſe of Hanover, would convince thoſe who wiſhed well to both, and deſired the quiet and ſafety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them. She left it entirely to the Houſe of Commons to determine what force might be neceſſary for the ſecurity of trade by ſea, and for guards and garriſons. "Make yourſelves ſafe (ſaid ſhe), and I ſhall "be ſatisfied. Next to the protection of the Divine "Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affec-"tion of my people. I want no other guarantee." She recommended to their protection thoſe brave men who had expoſed their lives in the ſervice of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace. She deſired they would concert proper meaſures

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ſures for eaſing the foreign trade of the kingdom, for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fiſhery, and for employing the hands of idle people. She expreſſed her diſpleaſure at the ſcandalous and ſeditious libels which had been lately publiſhed. She exhorted them to conſider of new laws to prevent this licentiouſneſs, as well as for putting a ſtop to the impious practice of duelling. She conjured them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and that groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accompliſh. This was the language of a pious, candid, and benevolent Sovereign, who loved her ſubjects with a truly parental affection. The Parliament conſidered her in that light. Each Houſe preſented her with a warm addreſs of thanks and congratulation, expreſſing, in particular, their inviolable attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, with the uſual ceremonies, to the inexpreſſible joy of the nation in general. It was about this period that the Chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonſtrance to the Miniſters at Utrecht, ſolemnly proteſting againſt all that might be ſtipulated to his prejudice. The Commons, in a ſecond addreſs, had beſought her Majeſty to communicate to the Houſe in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benſon, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

§ XXIV. By the treaty of peace the French King obliged himſelf to abandon the Pretender, and acknowledge the Queen's title and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; to raiſe the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay, and

St. Chriſtopher's to England; but the French were left in poſſeſſion of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fiſh in Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was eſtabliſhed, according to the tariff of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four, except in ſome commodities that were ſubjected to new regulations in the year ſixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, That no other duties ſhould be impoſed on the productions of France imported into England than thoſe that were laid on the ſame commodities from other countries; and, That commiſſaries ſhould meet at London, to adjuſt all matters relating to commerce; as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finiſhed. It was ſtipulated, That the Emperor ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spaniſh Netherlands: That the Duke of Savoy ſhould enjoy Sicily, with the title of King: That the ſame title, with the iſland of Sardinia, ſhould be allotted to the Elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his loſſes: That the States-General ſhould reſtore Liſle and its dependencies: That Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport ſhould be added to the other places they already poſſeſſed in Flanders; and, That the King of Pruſſia ſhould have Upper-Gueldre, in lieu of Orange and the other ſtates belonging to that family in Franche Compté. The King of Portugal was ſatisfied; and the firſt day of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the Emperor for conſideration. CHAP. XI. 1713.

§ XXV. A day being appointed by the Commons to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very juſt and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles, importing, That Great Britain and France ſhould mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other that either granted to the moſt favoured nation; and that no higher cuſtoms ſhould be exacted from the commodities of France, than thoſe that were drawn from the ſame productions

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tions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the ſide of France, ſevere duties had been laid on all the productions and manufactures of that kingdom, ſo as almoſt to amount to a total prohibition. Some members obſerved, that by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country were lower than thoſe laid upon the wines of France: that ſhould they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was ſo great, that the French wines would be found much cheaper than thoſe of Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taſte of the nation in general there would be no market for the Portugueſe wines in England: that ſhould this be the caſe, the Engliſh would loſe their trade with Portugal, the moſt advantageous of any traffick which they now carried on; for it conſumed a great quantity of their manufactures, and returned a yearly ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds in gold. Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly Governor of the Bank, affirmed, that as France had, ſince the Revolution, encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home ſeveral commodities which formerly they drew from England; ſo the Engliſh had learned to make ſilk ſtuffs, paper, and all manner of toys, formerly imported from France: by which means an infinite number of artificers were employed, and a vaſt ſum annually ſaved to the nation: but theſe people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money loſt again to the kingdom, ſhould French commodities of the ſame kind be imported under ordinary duties, becauſe labour was much cheaper in France than in England, conſequently the Britiſh manufactures would be underſold and ruined. He urged, that the ruin of the ſilk manufacture would be attended with another diſadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in conſequence of the raw ſilk which the Engliſh merchants bought up in thoſe countries; and,

and, ſhould the ſilk manufacture at home be loſt, CHAP. XI. 1713.
thoſe markets for Britiſh commodities would fail of courſe. Others alledged, that if the articles of commerce had been ſettled before the Engliſh troops ſeparated from thoſe of the Confederates, the French King would not have preſumed to inſiſt upon ſuch terms, but have been glad to comply with more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late Miniſtry, for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power. He ſaid that Portugal would always have occaſion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events. After a violent debate, the Houſe reſolved, by a great majority, That a bill ſhould be brought in to make good the eight and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Againſt theſe articles, however, the Portugueſe Miniſter preſented a memorial, declaring, that ſhould the duties on French wines be lowered to the ſame level with thoſe that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his Maſter would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great-Britain. Indeed, all the trading part of the nation exclaimed againſt the treaty of commerce, which ſeems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the Miniſters fully underſtood the nature of the ſubject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miſcarry, from the intrigues of the Whig faction, and the obſtinate oppoſition of the Confederates.

§ XXVI. The Commons having granted an aid of two ſhillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole iſland, notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of the Scottiſh members, who repreſented it as a burthen which their country could not bear. They inſiſted upon an expreſs article of the Union, ſtipulating, That no duty ſhould be laid on

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the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finiſhed, inaſmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the Parliament, on account of the Whitſun-holidays, the Scots of both Houſes, laying aſide all party-diſtinctions, met and deliberated on this ſubject. They deputed the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, to lay their grievances before the Queen. They repreſented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of ſome articles of the Union; and that the impoſition of ſuch an inſupportable burthen as the malt-tax would in all probability prompt them to declare the Union diſſolved. The Queen alarmed at this remonſtrance, anſwered, that ſhe wiſhed they might not have cauſe to repent of ſuch a precipitate reſolution; but ſhe would endeavour to make all things eaſy. On the firſt day of June, the Earl of Findlater, in the Houſe of Peers, repreſented that the Scottiſh nation was aggrieved in many inſtances: that they were deprived of a Privy-council, and ſubjected to the Engliſh laws in caſes of treaſon: that their Nobles were rendered incapable of being created Britiſh Peers; and that now they were oppreſſed with the inſupportable burthen of a malt-tax, when they had reaſon to expect they ſhould reap the benefit of peace: he, therefore moved, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for diſſolving the Union, and ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the Houſe of Hanover. Lord North and Grey affirmed, that the complaints of the Scots were groundleſs; that the diſſolution of the Union was impracticable; and he made ſome ſarcaſtic reflections on the poverty of that nation. He was anſwered by the Earl of Eglinton, who admitted the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The Earl of Ilay, among other pertinent remarks upon the Union, obſerved, that when the treaty was made, the Scots took it for granted, that the

the Parliament of Great-Britain would never load them with any impoſition that they had reaſon to believe grievous. The Earl of Peterborough compared the Union to a marriage. He ſaid, that though England, who muſt be ſuppoſed the huſband, might in ſome inſtances prove unkind to the lady, ſhe ought not immediately to ſue for a divorce, the rather becauſe ſhe had very much mended her fortune by the match. Ilay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God, and the Union no more than a political expedient. The other affirmed, that the contract could not have been more ſolemn, unleſs, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven: he inveighed againſt the Scots, as a people that would never be ſatisfied: that would have all the advantages reſulting from the Union, but would pay nothing by their good will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their eſtates. To theſe animadverſions the Duke of Argyle made a very warm reply. "I have "been reflected on by ſome people (ſaid he) as if "I was diſguſted, and had changed ſides: but I "deſpiſe their perſons, as much as I undervalue "their judgement." He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, becauſe land was worth five pounds an acre in the neighbourhood of London, and would not fetch ſo many ſhillings in the remote countries. In like manner, the Engliſh malt was valued at four times the price of that which was made in Scotland: therefore, the tax in this country muſt be levied by a regiment of dragoons. He owned he had a great ſhare in making the Union, with a view to ſecure the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; but he was now ſatisfied this end might be anſwered as effectually if the Union was diſſolved; and, if this ſtep ſhould not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. All the Whig members voted for the diſſolution of that treaty which

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which they had ſo eagerly promoted; while the Tories ſtrenuouſly ſupported the meaſure againſt which they had once argued with ſuch vehemence. In the courſe of the debate, the Lord-Treaſurer obſerved, that although the malt-tax were impoſed, it might be afterwards remitted by the Crown. The Earl of Sunderland expreſſed ſurprize at hearing that noble Lord broach a doctrine which tended to eſtabliſh a deſpotick diſpenſing power, and arbitrary government. Oxford replied, his family had never been famous, as ſome others had been, for promoting and adviſing arbitrary meaſures. Sunderland, conſidering this expreſſion as a ſarcaſm levelled at the memory of his father, took occaſion to vindicate his conduct, adding, that in thoſe days the other Lord's family was hardly known. Much violent altercation was diſcharged. At length the motion for the bill was rejected by a ſmall majority, and the malt-bill afterwards paſſed with great difficulty.

§ XXVII. Another bill being brought into the Houſe of Commons, for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, ſuch a number of petitions were delivered againſt it, and ſo many ſolid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the ſubject, that even a great number of Tory members were convinced of the bad conſequence it would produce to trade, and voted againſt the miniſtry on this occaſion; ſo that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices. At the ſame time, however, the Houſe agreed to an addreſs thanking her Majeſty for the great care ſhe had taken of the ſecurity and honour of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace; as alſo for having laid ſo good a foundation for the intereſt of her people in trade. They likewiſe beſought her to appoint Commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of France, for adjuſting ſuch matters as ſhould be neceſſary to be ſettled on the ſubject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of her

her people. The Queen interpreted this addreſs into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and thanked them accordingly in the warmeſt terms of ſatisfaction and acknowledgement. The Commons afterwards deſired to know what equivalent ſhould be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and ſhe gave them to underſtand, that this was already in the hands of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: then they beſought her that ſhe would not evacuate the towns of Flanders that were in her poſſeſſion, until thoſe who were entitled to the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Netherlands ſhould agree to ſuch articles for regulating trade as might place the ſubjects of Great-Britain upon an equal footing with thoſe of any other nation. The Queen made a favourable anſwer to all their remonſtrances. Such were the ſteps taken by the Parliament during this ſeſſion with relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, againſt which the Whigs exclaimed ſo violently, that many well-meaning people believed it would be attended with the immediate ruin of the kingdom: yet under the ſhadow of this very treaty, Great-Britain enjoyed a long term of peace and tranquillity. Biſhop Burnet was heated with an enthuſiaſtick terror of the Houſe of Bourbon. He declared to the Queen in private, that any treaty by which Spain and the Weſt Indies were left in the hands of King Philip, muſt in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France: that, if any ſuch peace was made, the Queen was betrayed, and the people ruined: that in leſs than three years ſhe would be murthered, and the fires would blaze again in Smithfield. This Prelate lived to ſee his prognoſtick diſappointed; therefore, he might have ſuppreſſed this anecdote of his own conduct.

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§ XXVIII. On the twenty-fifth day of June, the Queen ſignified, in a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, that her civil liſt was burthened with ſome debts incurred by ſeveral articles of extraordinary expence;

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expence; and that she hoped they would empower her to raise such a sum of money upon the funds for that provision, as would be sufficient to discharge the incumbrances, which amounted to five hundred thousand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil-list revenue, and passed through both Houses with some difficulty. Both Lords and Commons addressed the Queen concerning the Chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Lorraine. They desired she would press the Duke of that name, and all the Princes and States in amity with her, to exclude from their dominions the Pretender to the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain. A publick thanksgiving for the peace was appointed and celebrated with great solemnity; and on the sixteenth day of July the Queen closed the session with a speech which was not at all agreeable to the violent Whigs, because it did not contain one word about the Pretender and the Protestant succession. From these omissions they concluded, that the dictates of natural affection had biassed her in favour of the Chevalier de St. George. Whatever sentiments of tenderness and compassion she might feel for that unfortunate exile, the acknowledged son of her own father, it does not appear that she ever entertained a thought of altering the succession as by law established. The term of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, extraordinary rejoicings were made upon the occasion. He was desired to preach before the House of Commons, who thanked him for his sermon; and the Queen promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's Holbourn. On the other hand the Duke d'Aumont, Ambassador from France, was insulted by the populace. Scurrilous ballads were published against him both in the English and French languages. He received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by accident

or

or deſign he could not well determine. The magiſtracy of Dunkirk, having ſent a deputation with an addreſs to the Queen, humbly imploring her Majeſty to ſpare the port and harbour of that town, and repreſenting that they might be uſeful to her own ſubjects, the memorial was printed and diſperſed, and the arguments it contained were anſwered and refuted by Addiſon, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commiſſioners were ſent to ſee the fortifications of Dunkirk demoliſhed. They were accordingly razed to the ground; the harbour was filled up; and the Duke d'Aumont returned to Paris in the month of November. The Queen, by her remonſtrances to the court of Verſailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-ſix Proteſtants from the gallies: underſtanding afterwards that as many more were detained on the ſame account, ſhe made ſuch application to the French miniſtry, that they too were releaſed. Then ſhe appointed General Roſs her envoy-extraordinary to the King of France. CHAP. XI. 1713.

§ XXIX. The Duke of Shrewſbury being nominated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, aſſembled the Parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two Houſes ſtill at variance, on the oppoſite principles of Whig and Tory. Allan Broderick being choſen Speaker of the Commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in, to attaint the Pretender and all his adherents. They proſecuted Edward Lloyd, for publiſhing a book intitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George;" and they agreed upon an addreſs to the Queen, to remove from the Chancellorſhip Sir Conſtantine Phipps, who had countenanced the Tories of that kingdom. The Lords, however, reſolved, that Chancellor Phipps had, in his ſeveral ſtations, acquitted himſelf with honour and integrity. The two Houſes of Convocation preſented an addreſs to the ſame purpoſe. They likwiſe complained

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plained of Mr. Moleſworth, for having inſulted them, by ſaying, when they appeared in the Caſtle of Dublin, "They that have turned the world up-"ſide down are come hither alſo;" and he was removed from the privy-council. The Duke of Shrewſbury received orders to prorogue this Parliament, which was divided againſt itſelf, and portended nothing but domeſtick broils. Then he obtained leave to return to England, leaving Chancellor Phipps, with the Archbiſhop of Armagh and Tuam, juſtices of the kingdom.

§ XXX. The Parliament of England had been diſſolved; and the elections were managed in ſuch a manner as to retain the legiſlative power in the hands of the Tories: but the meeting of the new Parliament was delayed by repeated prorogations to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the Queen's indiſpoſition; and partly to the conteſts among her miniſters. Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The Treaſurer's parts were deemed the more ſolid; the Secretary's more ſhining: but both miniſters were aſpiring and ambitious. The firſt was bent upon maintaining the firſt rank in the adminiſtration, which he had poſſeſſed ſince the revolution in the miniſtry: the other diſdained to act as a ſubaltern to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius, and equalled in importance. They began to form ſeparate cabals, and adopt different principles. Bolingbroke inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Lady Maſham, to whom Oxford had given ſome cauſe of diſguſt. By this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his Sovereign, while the Treaſurer loſt it in the ſame proportion. Thus ſhe who had been the author of his elevation, was now uſed as the inſtrument of his diſgrace. The Queen was ſenſibly affected with theſe diſſentions, which ſhe interſpoſed her advice and authority, by turns, to appeaſe: but their mutual

tual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. The interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the Chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Secretary Bromley. Oxford perceived his own influence was on the wane, and began to think of retirement. Meanwhile the Earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the King of Sicily; and set out for Turin. The Queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory fever. The hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose: the public funds immediately fell: a great run was made upon the Bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament equipped in the Ports of France. They sent one of their members to represent to the Treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The Queen being made acquainted with these occurrences, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stancer, lord-mayor of London, declaring, that now she was recovered of her late indisposition, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the Parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discountenance those malicious rumours, spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and the imminent hazard of the publick peace and tranquillity. The Queen's recovery, together with certain intelligence that the armament was a phantom, and the Pretender still in Lorraine, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been industriously raised by party-writings. Mr. Richard Steele published a performance, intituled, "The Crisis," in defence of the Revolution and the Protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a Popish successor. On the other hand, the hereditary right to the Crown

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of England was asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way for the Pretender's accession. One Bedford was apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise.

§ XXXI. While England was harrassed by these intestine commotions, the Emperor rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expence, with the assistance of the Empire. His forces on the Rhine commanded by Prince Eugene, were so much outnumbered by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Fribourg. His Imperial Majesty hoped that the death of Queen Anne, or that of Louis XIV. would produce an alteration in Europe that might be favourable to his interest; and he depended upon the conduct and fortune of Prince Eugene for some lucky event in war. But finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the expence of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace that were made by the Electors of Cologn and Palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Al-Rastadt, between Prince Eugene and Mareschal de Villars, on the twenty-sixth day of November. In the beginning of February, these ministers separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion: but all the articles being settled between the two courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third day of March; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French King yielded to the Emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Fribourg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with Fort Khel. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that

that and Fort Louis. The town and fortreſs of Landau were ceded to the King of France, who acknowledged the Elector of Hanover. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologn were reſtored to all their dignities and dominions. The Emperor was put in immediate poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and the King of Pruſſia was permitted to retain the high quarters of Guelders. Finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congreſs ſhould be opened on the firſt of May, at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and Prince Eugene and Mareſchal de Villars were appointed their firſt plenipotentiaries. CHAP. XI. 1713.

§ XXXII. The ratifications of the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the firſt day of March, in London; and the articles were not diſagreeable to the Engliſh nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were ſeparated for ever. Philip acknowledged the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and renounced the Pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſeven. He granted an excluſive privilege to the Engliſh for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies with negroes, according to the aſſiento contract *. He ceded Gibraltar to England, as well as the iſland of Minorca, on condition that the Spaniſh inhabitants ſhould enjoy their eſtates and religion. He obliged himſelf to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates, honours, and privileges, and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. The new Parliament was opened by commiſſion in February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was choſen Speaker

* The aſſiento contract ſtipulated that from the firſt day of May, 1713, to the firſt of May, 1743, the Company ſhould tranſport into the Weſt Indies, one hundred forty-four thouſand negroes, at the rate of four thouſand eight hundred negroes a year: and pay for each negro thirty-three pieces of eight and one third, in full for all royal duties.

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of the Houſe of Commons. On the ſecond day of March, the Queen being carried in a ſedan to the Houſe of Lords, ſignified to both Houſes, that ſhe had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greateſt part of her Allies; and ſhe hoped her interpoſition might prove effectual to complete the ſettlement of Europe. She obſerved, that ſome perſons had been ſo malicious as to inſinuate that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, in the Houſe of Hanover, was in danger under her government; but that thoſe who endeavoured to diſtract the minds of men with imaginary dangers could only mean to diſturb the publick tranquillity. She ſaid, that after all ſhe had done to ſecure the religion and liberties of her people, ſhe could not mention ſuch proceedings without ſome degree of warmth; and ſhe hoped her Parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the poſſeſſion of the Crown uneaſy to her, could never be proper means to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Affectionate addreſſes were preſented by the Lords, the Commons, and the Convocation: but the ill humour of party ſtill ſubſiſted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers. Steele, ſupported by Addiſon and Halliſax, appeared in the front of thoſe who drew their pens in defence of Whig principles; and Swift was the champion of the miniſtry.

§ XXXIII. The Earl of Wharton complained in the Houſe of Lords of a libel, intituled, "The "publick ſpirit of the Whigs ſet forth in their ge- "nerous encouragement of the author of the Criſis." It was a ſarcaſtick performance, imputed to Lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interſperſed with ſevere reflexions upon the Union, the Scottiſh nation, and the Duke of Argyle in particular. The Lord-Treaſurer diſclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into cuſtody John Morphew, the publiſher, as well as John Barber,

ber, printer of the Gazette, from whoſe houſe the copies were brought to Morphew. The Earl of Wharton ſaid it highly concerned the honour of that auguſt aſſembly, to find out the villain who was author of that falſe and ſcandalous libel, that juſtice might be done to the Scottiſh nation. He moved, that Barber and his ſervants might be examined: but, next day, the Earl of Mar, one of the Secretaries of State, declared, that, in purſuance to her Majeſty's command, he had directed John Barber to be proſecuted. Notwithſtanding this interpoſition, which was calculated to ſcreen the offenders, the Lords preſented an addreſs, beſeeching her Majeſty to iſſue out her Royal proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be falſe, malicious, and factious, highly diſhonourable and ſcandalous to her Majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland, moſt injurious to her Majeſty, and tending to the ruin of the conſtitution. In compliance with their requeſt, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered: but the author remained ſafe from all detection.

§ XXXIV. The Commons having granted the ſupplies, ordered a bill to be brought in for ſecuring the freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the Houſe of Commons, and it paſſed through both Houſes with little difficulty. In March, a complaint was made of ſeveral ſcandalous papers, lately publiſhed, under the name of Richard Steele, Eſquire, a member of the Houſe. Sir William Wyndham obſerved, that ſome of that author's writings contained inſolent, injurious reflexions on the Queen herſelf, and were dictated by the ſpirit of rebellion. Steele was ordered to attend in his place: ſome paragraphs of his works were read; and he anſwered them with an affected air of ſelf-confidence and unconcern. A day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more circumſtantial defence. He was aſſiſted by Mr. Addiſon, General Stanhope, and

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Mr. Walpole; and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the Attorney-General. Whatever could be urged in his favour was but little regarded by the majority, which voted, that two pamphlets, intituled, "The Engliſhman," and "The Criſis," written by Richard Steele, Eſquire, were ſcandalous and ſeditious libels; and that he ſhould be expelled the Houſe of Commons.

§ XXXV. The Lords, taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, reſolved upon addreſſes to the Queen, deſiring they might know what ſteps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine: that ſhe would impart to them a detail of the negociations for peace, a recital of the inſtances which had been made in favour of the Catalans, and an account of the monies granted by Parliament ſince the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ten, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addreſſes, beſeeching her Majeſty to lay before them the debts and ſtate of the navy, the particular writs of Noli Proſequi granted ſince her acceſſion to the throne; and a liſt of ſuch perſons as, notwithſtanding ſentence of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licences to return into Great-Britain, or other of her Majeſty's dominions, ſince the Revolution. Having voted an application to the Queen in behalf of the diſtreſſed Catalans, the Houſe adjourned itſelf to the laſt day of March. As the minds of men had been artfully irritated by falſe reports of a deſign undertaken by France in behalf of the Pretender, the ambaſſador of that Crown at the Hague, diſowned it in a publick paper, by command of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. The ſuſpicions of many people, however, had been too deeply planted by the arts and inſinuations of the Whig leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what ſerved to rivet their apprehenſions, was a total removal of the Whigs from all the

the employments, civil and military, which they had hitherto retained. These were now bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the Queen's views were maliciously misrepresented; when the wheels of her government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she discharged the partisans of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the House of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority. Those were steps which her own sagacity must have suggested; and which her ministers would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the Pretender's succession to the throne of Great-Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with Baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the Elector: they received his instructions: they maintained a correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the Protestant succession upon the death of the Queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired, that every week was believed to be the last of her life. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation: but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

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Boyer. Burnet, Tindal. Torcy. Bolingbroke. Voltaire.

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§ XXXVI. The House of Peers resounded with debates upon the Catalans, the Pretender, and the danger that threatened the Protestant succession. With respect to the Catalonians, they represented,

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that Great-Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the Houſe of Auſtria, with promiſe of ſupport; and that theſe engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared, that the Queen had uſed all her endeavours in their behalf: and that her engagements with them ſubſiſted no longer than King Charles reſided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an addreſs, acknowledging her Majeſty's endeavours in favour of the Catalans, and requeſting ſhe would continue her interpoſition in their behalf. With reſpect to the Pretender, the Whig Lords expreſſed ſuch a ſpirit of perſecution and rancorous hate, as would have diſgraced the members of any, even the loweſt aſſembly of Chriſtians. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they ſeemed eagerly bent upon extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it was a crime in him to be born. The Earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the miniſter of Lorraine, that, notwithſtanding the application of both Houſes to her Majeſty, during the laſt ſeſſion, concerning the Pretender's being removed from Lorraine, no inſtances had yet been made to the Duke for that purpoſe. Lord Bolingbroke affirmed that he himſelf had made thoſe inſtances, in the Queen's name, to that very miniſter before his departure from England. The Earl of Wharton propoſed a queſtion, "Whether the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger "under the preſent adminiſtration?" A warm debate enſued, in which the Archbiſhop of York and the Earl of Angleſey joined in the oppoſition to the miniſtry. The Earl pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments uſed in the courſe of the debate. He owned he had given his aſſent to the ceſſation of arms, for which he took ſhame to himſelf, aſking pardon of God, his country, and his conſcience. He affirmed, that the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of his country, were the

rules of his actions; but that, without reſpect of perſons, ſhould he find himſelf impoſed upon, he durſt purſue an evil miniſter from the Queen's cloſet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the ſcaffold. This converſion, however, was much more owing to a full perſuaſion, that a miniſtry divided againſt itſelf could not long ſubſiſt, and that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was firmly ſecured. He therefore reſolved to make a merit of withdrawing himſelf from the intereſts of a tottering adminiſtration, in whoſe ruin he might be involved. The Duke of Argyle charged the miniſters with mal-adminiſtration, both within thoſe walls and without: he offered to prove that the Lord-Treaſurer had yearly remitted a ſum of money to the Highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the Pretender. He affirmed that the new-modelling of the army, the practice of diſbanding ſome regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers, on account of their affection to the Houſe of Hanover, were clear indications of the miniſtry's deſigns: that it was a diſgrace to the nation to ſee men who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the poſts of ſeveral brave officers, who, after they had often expoſed their lives for their country, were now ſtarving in priſon for debt, on account of their pay's being detained. The Treaſurer, laying his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid he had on ſo many occaſions given ſuch ſignal proofs of affection to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, that he was ſure no member of that auguſt aſſembly did call it in queſtion. He owned he had remitted, for two or three years paſt, between three and four thouſand pounds to the Highland clans; and he hoped the Houſe would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct in that particular: with reſpect to the reformed officers, he declared he had given orders for their being immediately paid. The proteſtant ſucceſſion was voted out of danger, by a ſmall majority.

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§ XXXVII.

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§ XXXVII. Lord Hallifax propoſed an addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would renew her inſtances for the ſpeedy removing the Pretender out of Lorraine; and that ſhe would in conjunction with the States-General, enter into the guarantee of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. The Earl of Wharton moved, that in the addreſs her Majeſty ſhould be deſired to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the Pretender dead or alive. He was ſeconded by the Duke of Bolton; and the Houſe agreed that an addreſs ſhould be preſented. When it was reported by the committee, Lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of ſetting a price on any one's head: he proved it was an encouragement to murther and aſſaſſination; contrary to the precepts of chriſtianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconſiſtent with the dignity of ſuch an auguſt aſſembly, and with the honour of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was ſupported by Lord Trevor, who moved that the reward ſhould be promiſed for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to juſtice, in caſe he ſhould land, or attempt to land in Great-Britain or Ireland. The cruelty of the firſt clauſe was zealouſly ſupported and vindicated by the Lords Cowper and Hallifax; but by this time the Earl of Angleſea and ſome others, who had abandoned the miniſtry, were brought back to their former principles, by promiſe of profitable employments; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices. To this addreſs, which was delivered by the Chancellor and the Whig Lords only, the Queen replied in theſe words: "My "Lords, it would be a real ſtrengthening to the "ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, as well as a "ſupport to my government, that an end were put "to thoſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies which have "been ſo induſtriouſly promoted. I do not at this "time ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation.

"When-

"Whenever I judge it to be neceſſary, I ſhall "give my orders for having it iſſued. As to the "other particulars of this addreſs, I will give pro- "per directions therein." She was likewiſe importuned, by another addreſs, to iſſue out a proclamation againſt all Jeſuits, Popiſh Prieſts, and Biſhops, as well as againſt all ſuch as were outlawed for adhering to the late King James and the Pretender. The Houſe reſolved, that no perſon, not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France and Spain, ſhould be capable of any employment civil or military: and that no perſon, a natural-born ſubject of her Majeſty, ſhould be capable of ſuſtaining the character of a publick miniſter from any foreign potentate. Theſe reſolutions were aimed at Sir Patrick Lawleſs, an Iriſh Papiſt, who had come to England with a credential letter from King Philip, but now thought proper to quit the kingdom.

§ XXXVIII. Then the Lords in the oppoſition made an attack upon the Treaſurer, concerning the money he had remitted to the Highlanders: but Oxford ſilenced his oppoſers, by aſſerting, that in ſo doing he had followed the example of King William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly penſions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet. His conduct was approved by the Houſe; and Lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed for conſidering the ſtate of the nation, with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce. The motion was ſeconded by the Earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth day of April fixed for this purpoſe. In the mean time, Baron Schutz demanded of the Chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, to ſit in the Houſe of Peers as Duke of Cambridge, intimating that his deſign was to reſide in England. The writ was granted with reluctance: but the Prince's deſign of coming to England was ſo diſagreeable to the Queen, that

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that she signified her disapprobation of such a step in a letter to the Princess Sophia. She observed, that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way, than as the Prince who was in actual possession of the throne maintained her authority and prerogative: she said a great many people in England were seditiously disposed; so she left her Highness to judge what tumults they might be able to raise, should they have a pretext to begin a commotion; she, therefore, persuaded herself that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the repose of her and her subjects. At the same time she wrote a letter to the Electoral Prince, complaining that he had formed such a resolution, without first knowing her sentiments on the subject; and telling him plainly, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, to the right of succession in the Hanoverian line, or more disagreeable to her, than such conduct at this juncture. A third letter was written to the Elector, his father; and the Treasurer took this opportunity to assure that Prince of his inviolable attachment to the family of Hanover.

§ XXXIX. The Whig Lords were dissatisfied with the Queen's answer to their address concerning the Pretender; and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved upon, but never presented. They took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were taken; and much sarcasm was expended on both sides of the dispute: but at length the majority carried the question in favour of an address, acknowledging her Majesty's goodness in delivering them, by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France, from the burthen of a consuming land war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable. The House of Commons concurred in this address, after having voted that

that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was out of danger: but theſe reſolutions were not taken without violent oppoſition, in which General Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole, chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. The letters which the Queen had written to the Electoral Houſe of Hanover were printed and publiſhed in England, with a view to inform the friends of that family of the reaſons which prevented the Duke of Cambridge from executing his deſign of reſiding in Great-Britain. The Queen conſidered this ſtep as a perſonal inſult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinions of her ſubjects: ſhe therefore ordered the publiſher to be taken into cuſtody. At this period the princeſs Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the Queen by Baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of Envoy-Extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover. This Princeſs was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth daughter of King James I. of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated; and was in all reſpects one of the moſt accompliſhed Princeſſes of the age in which ſhe lived. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and the Elector of Brunſwick was prayed for by name in the Liturgy of the Church of England. On the twelfth day of May, Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed. The deſign of it was to prohibit Diſſenters from teaching in ſchools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly oppoſed in each Houſe as a ſpecies of perſecution. Nevertheleſs, it made its way through both, and received the Royal aſſent: but the Queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

CHAP. XI. 1714.

§ XL.

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§ XL. Her Majeſty's conſtitution was now quite broken: one fit of ſickneſs ſucceeded another: what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind, occaſioned partly by the diſcontents which had been raiſed and fomented by the enemies of her government; and partly by the diſſenſions among her miniſters, which were now become intolerable. The council-chamber was turned into a ſcene of obſtinate diſpute and bitter altercation. Even in the Queen's preſence the Treaſurer and Secretary did not abſtain from mutual obloquy and reproach. Oxford adviſed moderate meaſures, and is ſaid to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party. As he foreſaw it would ſoon be their turn to domineer, ſuch precautions were neceſſary for his own ſafety. Bolingbroke affected to ſet the Whigs at defiance: he profeſſed a warm zeal for the Church: he ſoothed the Queen's inclinations with the moſt aſſiduous attention. He and his coadjutrix inſinuated, that the Treaſurer was biaſſed in favour of the Diſſenters, and even that he acted as a ſpy for the Houſe of Hanover. In the midſt of theſe diſputes and commotions the Jacobites were not idle. They flattered themſelves that the Queen in ſecret favoured the pretenſions of her brother; and they depended upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the ſame intereſt. They believed the ſame ſentiments were cheriſhed by the nation in general. They held private aſſemblies both in Great-Britain and in Ireland. They concerted meaſures for turning the diſſenſions of the kingdom to the advantage of their cauſe. They even proceeded ſo far as to inliſt men for the ſervice of the Pretender. Some of theſe practices were diſcovered by the Earl of Wharton, who did not fail to ſound the alarm. A proclamation was immediately publiſhed, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he ſhould land or attempt to land in Great-Britain. The Commons voted

voted an addreſs of thanks for the proclamation; and aſſured her Majeſty, that they would cheerfully aid and aſſiſt her, by granting the ſum of an hundred thouſand pounds, as a further reward to any who ſhould perform ſo great a ſervice to her Majeſty and her kingdoms. The Lords likewiſe preſented an addreſs on the ſame ſubject. Lord Bolingbroke propoſed a bill, decreeing the penalties of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould liſt or be inliſted in the Pretender's ſervice. The motion was approved, and the penalty extended to all thoſe who ſhould liſt or be inliſted in the ſervice of any foreign Prince or State, without a licence under the ſign manual of her Majeſty, her heirs, or ſucceſſors.

§ XLI. On the ſecond day of July, the Lords took into conſideration the treaty of commerce with Spain; and a great number of merchants being examined at the bar of the Houſe, declared that unleſs the explanation of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was ſigned, were reſcinded, they could not carry on their commerce without loſing five-and-twenty per cent. After a long debate, the Houſe reſolved to addreſs the Queen for all the papers relating to the negociation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the perſons who adviſed her Majeſty to that treaty. To this addreſs ſhe replied, that underſtanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her ſubjects, ſhe had conſented to their being ratified with the treaty. The Earl of Wharton repreſented, that if ſo little regard was ſhewn to the addreſſes of that auguſt aſſembly to the Sovereign, they had no buſineſs in that Houſe. He moved for a remonſtrance, to lay before her Majeſty the inſuperable difficulties that attended the Spaniſh trade on the footing of the late treaty; and the Houſe agreed to his motion. Another member moved, that the Houſe ſhould inſiſt on her Majeſty's naming the perſons who adviſed

her

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her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a member of the Lower Houſe, whom Lord Bolingbroke had conſulted on the ſubject of the treaty. He was ſcreened by the majority in Parliament; but a general court of the South-Sea Company reſolved, upon a complaint exhibited by Captain Johnſon, that Arthur Moore, while a Director, was privy to and encouraged the deſign of carrying on a clandeſtine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the truſt repoſed in him: that, therefore, he ſhould be declared incapable of being a Director of, or having any employment in, this Company. The Queen had reſerved to herſelf the quarter-part of the aſſiento-contract, which ſhe now gave up to the Company, and received the thanks of the Upper Houſe: but ſhe would not diſcover the names of thoſe who adviſed her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July, ſhe thought proper to put an end to the ſeſſion, with a ſpeech on the uſual ſubjects. After having aſſured them, that her chief concern was to preſerve the Proteſtant religion, the liberty of her ſubjects, and to ſecure the tranquillity of her kingdoms, ſhe concluded in theſe words: "But I "muſt tell you plainly, that theſe deſirable ends "can never be obtained, unleſs you bring the ſame "diſpoſitions on your parts, unleſs all groundleſs "jealouſies, which create and foment diviſions among "you, be laid aſide; and unleſs you ſhew the ſame "regard for my juſt prerogative, and for the honour "of my government, as I have always expreſſed for "the rights of my people."

§ XLII. After the peace had thus received the ſanction of the Parliament, the Miniſters, being no longer reſtrained by the tie of common danger, gave a looſe to their mutual animoſity. Oxford wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a detail of the publick tranſactions; in the courſe of which he endeavoured

voured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the Treasurer with having invited the Duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and maintained a private correspondence with the House of Hanover. The Duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her Majesty and the council. In all probability his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favourite, Lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the Chancellor, and Oxford, in the Queen's presence. The Treasurer affirmed he had been wronged, and abused by lies and misrepresentations; but he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attracted his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had obtained. He laid his account with being admitted as chief minister into the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed a design of a coalition with the Duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably, Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a repulse from the Duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the Duchess had conceived against that minister.

§ XLIII. Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the Treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. The confusion that incessantly ensued at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on this event, had such an effect upon the Queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargick disorder. Not-

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withſtanding all the medicines which the phyſicians could preſcribe, the diſtemper gained ground ſo faſt, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they deſpaired of her life. Then the committee of the council aſſembled at the Cockpit adjourned to Kenſington. The Dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, informed of the deſperate ſituation in which ſhe lay, repaired to the palace; and, without being ſummoned, entered the council-chamber. The members were ſurprized at their appearance; but the Duke of Shrewſbury thanked them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance at ſuch a critical juncture, and deſired they would take their places. The phyſicians having declared that the Queen, was ſtill ſenſible, the council unanimouſly agreed to recommend the Duke of Shrewſbury as the fitteſt perſon to fill the place of Lord-Treaſurer. When this opinion was intimated to the Queen, ſhe ſaid, they could not have recommended a perſon ſhe liked better than the Duke of Shrewſbury. She delivered to him the white ſtaff, bidding him uſe it for the good of her people. He would have returned the Lord-chamberlain's ſtaff, but ſhe deſired he would keep them both: ſo that he was at one time poſſeſſed of the three greateſt poſts in the kingdom, under the titles of Lord-treaſurer, Lord-chamberlain, and Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. No nobleman in England better deſerved ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of his Sovereign's favour. He was modeſt, liberal, diſintereſted, and a warm friend to his country. Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigour which the Dukes of Somerſet and Argyle exerted on this occaſion. They propoſed, that all privy-counſellors in or about London ſhould be invited to attend, without diſtinction of party. The motion was approved; and Lord Somers, with many other Whig members, repaired to Kenſington. The council being thus re-inforced, began to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Orders were immediately diſpatched

dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote countries, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition: an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the Elector of Brunswick, signifying that the physicians had despaired of the Queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her Majesty's decease. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the Earl of Strafford, to desire the States-General would be ready to perform the guarantee of the Protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new King as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; to over-awe the Jacobites in Scotland; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the Earl of Berkley. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XLIV. The Queen continued to doze in a lethargick insensibility, with very short intervals, till the first day of August in the morning, when she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Anne Stuart, Queen of Great-Britain, was in her person of the middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy; her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestick. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, or per-

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ſonal ambition. She was certainly deficient in that vigour of mind by which a Prince ought to preſerve his independence, and avoid the ſnares and fetters of ſycophants and favourites: but whatever her weakneſs in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in queſtion. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent miſtreſs, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful prince, during whoſe reign no ſubject's blood was ſhed for treaſon. She was zealouſly attached to the Church of England from conviction rather than from prepoſſeſſion, unaffectedly pious, juſt, charitable, and compaſſionate. She felt a mother's fondneſs for her people, by whom ſhe was univerſally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if ſhe was not the greateſt, ſhe was certainly one of the beſt and moſt unblemiſhed Sovereigns that ever ſat upon the throne of England; and well deſerved the expreſſive, though ſimple epithet of "The good Queen Anne."

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BOOK II.

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BOOK II.

§ I. IT may be neceſſary to remind the reader of the ſtate of party at this important junc-

1714. ture. The Jacobites had been fed with hopes of ſeeing the ſucceſſion altered by the Earl of Oxford. Theſe hopes he had conveyed to them in a diſtant, undeterminate, and myſterious manner, without any other view than that of preventing them from taking violent meaſures to embarraſs his adminiſtration. At leaſt, if he actually entertained at one time any other deſign, he had, long before his diſgrace, laid it wholly aſide, probably from an apprehenſion of



I. Heath sculp.t

Published as the Act directs by T. Cadell and R. Baldwin March 1.st 1790.

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the danger with which it must have been attended, and seemed bent upon making a merit of his zeal for the House of Hanover: but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he ruined himself in the opinion of one party, without acquiring the confidence of the other. The friends of the Pretender derived fresh hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke. Though he had never explained himself on this subject, he was supposed to favour the Heir of Blood, and known to be an implacable enemy to the Whigs, who were the most zealous advocates for the Protestant succession. The Jacobites promised themselves much from his affection, but more from his resentment: and they believed the majority of the Tories would join them on the same maxims. All Bolingbroke's schemes of power were defeated by the promotion of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of Treasurer; and all his hopes blasted by the death of the Queen, on whose personal favour he depended. The resolute behaviour of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, together with the diligence and activity of a council in which the Whig interest had gained the ascendency, completed the confusion of the Tories, who found themselves without a head, divided, distracted, and irresolute. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible as silence, and submission, to those measures which they could not oppose with any prospect of success. They had no other objection to the succession in the House of Hanover, but the fear of seeing the Whig faction once more predominant: yet they were not without hope that their new Sovereign, who was reputed a Prince of sagacity and experience, would cultivate and conciliate the affection of the Tories, who were the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, rather than declare himself the head of a faction which leaned for support on those who were enemies to the Church and Monarchy, on the Bank and the monied-interest, raised upon usury, and maintained

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by corruption. In a word, the Whigs were elated and overbearing; the Tories abaſhed and humble; the Jacobites eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture which, with reſpect to them, was truly critical.

§ II. The Queen had no ſooner reſigned her laſt breath than the privy-council met, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Hanoverian Reſident, Kreyenberg, produced the three inſtruments in which the Elector of Brunſwick had nominated the perſons * to be added as Lords Juſtices to the ſeven great officers of the realm. Orders were immediately iſſued for proclaiming King George, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Regency appointed the Earl of Dorſet to carry to Hanover the intimation of his Majeſty's acceſſion, and attend him in his journey to England. They ſent the general officers in whom they could confide to their reſpective poſts: they reinforced the garriſon of Portſmouth: they appointed Mr. Addiſon their ſecretary: while Bolingbroke was obliged to ſtand at the door of the council-chamber with his bag and papers, and underwent every ſpecies of mortification. On the whole, King George aſcended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the leaſt oppoſition, tumult, or ſign of popular diſcontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully perſuaded that no deſign had ever been concerted by Queen Anne and her miniſtry in favour of the Pretender. The mayor of Oxford received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the Pretender. This being communicated to the Vice-Chancellor, a copy of it was immediatly tranſmitted to Mr. Secretary Bromley, member of Parliament for the Univerſity; and the Vice-Chancellor

* Theſe were the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Somerſet, Bolton, Devonſhire, Kent, Argyle, Montroſe, and Roxburgh—the Earls of Pomfret, Angleſey, Carliſle, Nottingham, Abingdom, Scarborough, and Oxford—Lord Viſcount Townſhend, and Lords Halifax and Cowper.

offered

offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who ſhould diſcover the author. It was either the production of ſome lunatick, or a weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body. CHAP. I. 1714.

§ III. The Parliament having aſſembled, purſuant to the act which regulated the ſucceſſion, the Lord Chancellor, on the fifth day of Auguſt, made a ſpeech to both Houſes in the name of the Regency. He told them, that the privy-council appointed by the Elector of Brunſwick had proclaimed that Prince under the name of King George, as the lawful and rightful Sovereign of theſe kingdoms; and that they had taken the neceſſary care to maintain the publick peace. He obſerved, that the ſeveral branches of the publick revenue were expired by the demiſe of her late Majeſty; and recommended to the Commons the making ſuch proviſion, in that reſpect, as might be requiſite to ſupport the honour and dignity of the Crown. He likewiſe expreſſed his hope, that they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the eſtabliſhing and advancing of the publick credit. Both Houſes immediately agreed to addreſſes, containing the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and affection to their new Sovereign, who did not fail to return ſuch anſwers as were very agreeable to the Parliament of Great Britain. In the mean time the Lower Houſe prepared and paſſed a bill, granting to his Majeſty the ſame civil-liſt which the Queen had enjoyed; with additional clauſes for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the ſervice of Great Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid by the Treaſury to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the Pretender in landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the Britiſh dominions. Mr. Craggs, who had been diſpatched to Hanover before the Queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of Auguſt, with letters from the King to the Regency, they went to the Houſe

BOOK II. 1714. House of Peers: then the Chancellor, in another speech to both Houses, intimated his Majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The Commons finished the bill for the civil-list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state-lottery, which received the Royal assent from the Lords Justices. Then the Parliament was prorogued.

§ IV. Mr. Prior having notified the Queen's death to the court of Versailles, Louis declared that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with a relation to the settlement of the British Crown in the House of Hanover. The Earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the States of Holland, and the Resident of Hanover having presented them with a letter, in which his Master claimed the performance of their guarantee, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his Electoral Highness on his succession to the throne of Great Britain. They invited him to pass through their dominions, and assured him that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The Chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the Queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand, that the King of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the King had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the Regency to prepare a patent for creating the Prince-Royal Prince of Wales; and for removing Lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary. The seals were taken from this minister by the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and Lord Cowper, who at the same time sealed up all the doors of his office.

§ V.

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§ V. King George having veſted the government of his German dominions in a council, headed by his brother Prince Erneſt, ſet out with the Electoral Prince from Herenhauſen on the thirty-firſt day of Auguſt; and in five days arrived at the Hague, where he conferred with the States-General. On the ſixteenth day of September he embarked at Orange Poldar, under convoy of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron, commanded by the Earl of Berkley; and next day arrived at the Hope. In the afternoon the yatcht ſailed up the River; and his Majeſty, with the Prince, were landed from a barge at Greenwich, about ſix in the evening. There he was received by the Duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and the Lords of the Regency. From the landing-place he walked to his houſe in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction, who had the honour to kiſs his hand as they approached. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he ſent for thoſe of the nobility who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his ſucceſſion; but the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Trevor were not of the number. Next morning, the Earl of Oxford preſented himſelf with an air of confidence, as if he had expected to receive ſome particular mark of his Majeſty's favour: but he had the mortification to remain a conſiderable time undiſtinguiſhed among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiſs the King's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. On the other hand, his Majeſty expreſſed uncommon regard for the Duke of Marlborough, who had lately arrived in England, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

§ VI. It was the misfortune of this Prince, as well as a very great prejudice to the nation, that he had been miſled into ſtrong prepoſſeſſions againſt the Tories, who conſtituted ſuch a conſiderable part

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of his ſubjects. They were now excluded from all ſhare of the Royal favour, which was wholly engroſſed by their enemies: theſe early marks of averſion, which he was at no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his perſon and government, who would otherwiſe have ſerved him with fidelity and affection. An inſtantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. The Duke of Ormond was diſmiſſed from his command, which the King reſtored to the Duke of Marlborough, whom he likewiſe appointed colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, and maſter of the ordnance. The great ſeal was given to Lord Cowper; the privy ſeal to the Earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Devonſhire was made ſteward of the houſehold: Lord Townſhend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate: the poſt of ſecretary for Scotland was beſtowed upon the Duke of Montroſe. The Duke of Somerſet was conſtituted maſter of the horſe: the Duke of St Alban's captain of the band of penſioners; and the Duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney became ſecretary at war; and Mr. Whalpole, who had already undertaken to manage the Houſe of Commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaſter to the army and to Chelſea-hoſpital. A new privy-council was appointed, and the Earl of Nottingham declared preſident: but all affairs of conſequence were concerted by a cabinet-council, or junto, compoſed of the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the Lords Halifax, Townſhend, and Somers, and General Stanhope. The Regency had already removed Sir Conſtantine Phipps, and the Archbiſhop of Armagh from the office of Lords Juſtices in Ireland, and filled their places in the regency of that kingdom with the Archbiſhop of Dublin and the Earl of Kildare. Allan Broderick was

appointed chancellor: another privy-counſel was formed; and the Duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The Treaſury and Admiralty were put into commiſſion: all the governments were changed: and, in a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. At the ſame time, the Prince-Royal was declared Prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The King was congratulated on his acceſſion in addreſſes from the two univerſities, and from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. He expreſſed particular ſatisfaction at theſe expreſſions of loyalty and affection. He declared in council his firm purpoſe to ſupport and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law eſtabliſhed; an aim which he imagined might be effectually accompliſhed, without impairing the toleration allowed by law to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and ſo neceſſary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: he, moreover, aſſured them he would earneſtly endeavour to render property ſecure; the good effects of which were no where ſo clearly ſeen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created ſome new Peers, and others were promoted to higher titles*. On the twentieth day of October, he was crowned in Weſtminſter with the uſual ſolemnity, at which the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke aſſiſted †. On that very day, the univerſity of Oxford, in full convocation, CHAP. I. 1714.

* James, Lord Chandos, was created Earl of Caernarvon—Lewis, Lord Rockingham, Earl of that name—Charles, Lord Oſſulton, Earl of Tankerville—Charles, Lord Hallifax, Earl of Hallifax—Heneage, Lord Guernſey, Earl of Alesford—John, Lord Hervey, Earl of Briſtol—Thomas, Lord Pelham, Earl of Clare—Henry, Earl of Thommond, in Ireland, Viſcount Tadcaſter—James, Viſcount Caſtleton, in Ireland, Baron Sanderſon—Bennet, Lord Sherrard, in Ireland, Baron of Harborough—Gervaſe, Lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, Baron Pierrepoint, in the County of Bucks—Henry Boyle, Baron of Carleton, in the county of York—Sir Richard Temple, Baron of Cobham—Henry, Lord Paget, Earl of Uxbridge.

† In the month of October, the Princeſs of Wales arrived in England with her two eldeſt daughters, the Princeſſes Anne and Amelia.

unanimouſly

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unanimouſly conferred the degree of Doctor of Civil Law on Sir Conſtantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and eſteem. As the French King was ſaid to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prio, received orders to preſent a memorial to haſten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finiſhed. The anſwer which he received being deemed equivocal, this miniſter was recalled, and the Earl of Stair appointed ambaſſador to the court of France, where he proſecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. About the ſame time, General Cadogan was ſent as plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to aſſiſt at the barrier treaty, negociated there between the emperor and the States-General.

§ VII. Meanwhile, the number of the malcontents in England was conſiderably increaſed by the King's attachment to the Whig faction. The clamour of the Church's being in danger was revived: jealouſies were excited; ſeditious libels diſperſed; and dangerous tumults raiſed in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Briſtol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading were filled with licentious riot. The party cry was, "Down with the Whigs! "Sacheverel for ever!" Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abuſed; magiſtrates in towns, and juſtices in the country, were reviled and inſulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The Pretender took this opportunity to tranſmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifeſto to the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. In this declaration he mentioned the good intentions of his ſiſter towards him, which were prevented by her deplorable death. He obſerved that his people, inſtead of doing him and themſelves juſtice, had proclaimed for their King a foreign Prince, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended

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Acts of Settlement could never abrogate. These papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the King refused an audience to the Marquis de Lamberti, minister from the Duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The Marquis having communicated this circumstance to the Duke, that Prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the Chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by the directions of the French King, whom the Duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the Marquis was given to understand that he could not be admitted to an audience until the Pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master: he, therefore, quitted the kingdom without further hesitation. Religion was still mingled in all political disputes. The High-churchmen complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence of the Whig prelates. The Lower House of Convocation had, before the Queen's death declared that a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke under the title of "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the catholick faith. They sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops; and the Doctor wrote an answer to their objections. He was prevailed upon to write an apology, which he presented to the Upper House; but apprehending it might be published separately, and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the Bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the bishops; but the Lower House resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about the Trinity increasing, the archbishops and bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the Church, the purity

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purity of the Chriſtian faith concerning the Holy Trinity, and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the State. By theſe every preacher was reſtricted from delivering any other doctrine than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures with reſpect to the Trinity; and from intermeddling in any affairs of ſtate or government. The like prohibition was extended to thoſe who ſhould write, harangue: or diſpute on the ſame ſubjects.

§ VIII. The Parliament being diſſolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the King complained of the evil deſigns of men diſaffected to his ſucceſſion; and of their having miſrepreſented his conduct and principles. He mentioned the perplexity of publick affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation. He expreſſed his hope that his loving ſubjects would ſend up to Parliament the fitteſt perſons to redreſs the preſent diſorders; and that in the elections, they would have a particular regard to ſuch as had expreſſed a firm attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion when it was in danger. It does not appear that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was ever in danger. How then was this declaration to be interpreted? People in general conſtrued it into a deſign to maintain party diſtinctions, and encourage the Whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the elections; into a renunciation of the Tories; and as the firſt flaſh of that vengeance which afterwards was ſeen to burſt upon the heads of the late miniſtry. When the Earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were ſeized by an order from the ſecretary's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promiſed to diſcover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's adminiſtration. Uncommon vigour was exerted on both ſides in the elections; but, by dint of the monied intereſt, which prevailed in moſt of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenance of the miniſtry, which will always

always have weight with needy and venal electors, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and Scotland. CHAP. I. 1714.

§ IX. When this new Parliament aſſembled on the ſeventeenth day of March at Weſtminſter, Mr. Spencer Compton was choſen Speaker of the Commons. On the twenty-firſt day of the month, the King appeared in the Houſe of Lords, and delivered to the Chancellor a written ſpeech, which was read in preſence of both Houſes. His Majeſty thanked his faithful and loving ſubjects for that zeal and firmneſs they had ſhown in defence of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt all the open and ſecret practices, which had been uſed to defeat it. He told them that ſome conditions of the peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of Great Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defenſive alliances ſhould be formed to guarantee the preſent treaties. He obſerved, that the Pretender boaſted of the aſſiſtance he expected in England, to repair his former diſappointment; that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable; and that the publick debts were ſurpriſingly increaſed even ſince the fatal ceſſation of arms. He gave the Commons to underſtand, that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the ſupport of the civil government, were ſo far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned for maintaining the honour and dignity of the Crown; that as it was his, and their happineſs to ſee a Prince of Wales who might in due time ſucceed him on the throne, and to ſee him bleſſed with many children; theſe circumſtances would naturally occaſion an expence to which the nation had not been for many years accuſtomed; and, therefore, he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reaſon

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to hope from his Commons. He desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country. He declared that the established constitution in Church and State should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the chief care of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence, that with their assistance he should disappoint the designs of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued—the affection of his people.

§ X. Speeches suggested by a vindictive ministry better became the leader of an incensed party, than the Father and Sovereign of a divided people. This declaration portended measures which it was the interest of the Crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both Houses, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries. The Lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his Majesty, assisted by the Parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. The Tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very juncture. The Commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious. They declared their resolution to enquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out those measures whereon the Pretender placed his hopes and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition. In the House of Lords, the Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the Earl of Anglesea,

the Archbiſhop of York, and other Peers, both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical, obſerved, that their addreſs was injurious to the late Queen's memory, and would ſerve only to increaſe thoſe unhappy diviſions that diſtracted the kingdom. In the Lower Houſe, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, General Roſs, Sir William Whitelock, and other members took exceptions to paſſages of the ſame nature, in the addreſs which the Commons had prepared. They were anſwered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Secretary Stanhope. Theſe gentlemen took occaſion to declare, that notwithſtanding the endeavours which had been uſed to prevent a diſcovery of the late miſmanagements, by conveying away ſeveral papers from the ſecretary's office, yet the government had ſufficient evidence left, to prove the late miniſtry the moſt corrupt that ever ſat at the helm; that thoſe matters would ſoon be laid before the Houſe, when it would appear that a certain Engliſh general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Mareſchal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in publick, as uſual, with remarkable ſerenity, and ſpoke in the Houſe of Lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to conſult his perſonal ſafety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his juſtification. In this paper, he declared he had received certain and repeated, informations, that a reſolution was taken to purſue him to the ſcaffold; that if there had been the leaſt reaſon to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two Houſes of Parliament, he ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination. He challenged the moſt inveterate of his enemies to produce any one inſtance of criminal correſpondence or the leaſt corruption in any part of the adminiſtration in which he was concerned. He ſaid, if his zeal for the ho-

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Boyer Torcy, Tindal, Bolingbr. Voltaire.

BOOK II. 1714. nour and dignity of his Royal Miſtreſs, and the true intereſt of his country, had any where tranſported him to let ſlip a warm and unguarded expreſſion, he hoped the moſt favourable interpretation would be put upon it. He affirmed, that he had ſerved her Majeſty faithfully and dutifully in that eſpecially which ſhe had moſt at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expenſive war; and that he had always been too much an Engliſhman to ſacrifice the intereſt of his country to any foreign ally whatſoever.

An. 1715. § XI. In the midſt of all this violence againſt the late miniſters, friends were not wanting to eſpouſe their cauſe in the face of oppoſition; and even in ſome addreſſes to the King their conduct was juſtified. Nay, ſome individuals had courage enough to attack the preſent adminiſtration. When a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, to conſider the King's proclamation for calling a new Parliament, Sir William Whitelocke, member for the univerſity of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himſelf, he made an apology. Nevertheleſs, Sir William Wyndham riſing up, ſaid, the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous conſequence to the very being of Parliaments. When challenged to juſtify his charge, he obſerved, that every member was free to ſpeak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower! the Tower!" A warm debate enſued; Sir William being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and thoſe who remained in the Houſe reſolved, That he ſhould be reprimanded by the Speaker. He was accordingly rebuked, for having preſumed to reflect on his Majeſty's proclamation, and having made an unwarrantable uſe of the freedom of ſpeech granted by his Majeſty. Sir William ſaid, he was not conſcious of having offered any indignity

indignity to his Majeſty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege: that he acquieſced in the determination of the Houſe; but had no thanks to give to thoſe gentlemen who, under pretence of lenity, had ſubjected him to this cenſure. CHAP. I. 1715.

§ XII. On the ninth day of April, General Stanhope delivered to the Houſe of Commons fourteen volumes, conſiſting of all the papers relating to the late negociations of peace and commerce, as well as to the ceſſation of arms; and moved that they might be referred to a ſelect committee of twenty perſons, who ſhould digeſt the ſubſtance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their obſervations, to the Houſe. One more was added to the number of this ſecret committee, which was choſen by ballot, and met that ſame evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, original chairman, being taken ill, was ſucceeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was ſubdivided into three committees: to each a certain number of books was allotted; and they carried on the enquiry with great eagerneſs and expedition. Before this meaſure was taken, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Sarum, died of a pleuritick fever, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age. Immediately after the committee had begun to act, the Whig party loſt one of their warmeſt champions, by the death of the Marquis of Wharton, a nobleman poſſeſſed of happy talents for the cabinet, the ſenate, and the common ſcenes of life; talents, which a life of pleaſure and libertiniſm did not prevent him from employing with ſurprizing vigour and application. The committee of the Lower Houſe taking the civil-liſt into conſideration, examined ſeveral papers relating to that revenue. The Tories obſerved, that from the ſeven hundred thouſand pounds granted annually to King William, fifty thouſand pounds were allotted to the late Queen, when Princeſs of Denmark; twenty thouſand pounds to the Duke of Glouceſter; and twice that ſum, as

BOOK II. 1715. a dowry, to James's Queen: that near two hundred thouſand pounds had been yearly deducted from the revenues of the late Queen's civil-liſt, and applied to other uſes; notwithſtanding which deduction, ſhe had honourably maintained her family, and ſupported the dignity of the Crown. In the courſe of the debate ſome warm altercation paſſed between Lord Guernſey and one of the members, who affirmed that the late miniſtry had uſed the Whigs, and, indeed, the whole nation in ſuch a manner, that nothing they ſhould ſuffer could be deemed hardſhip. At length the Houſe agreed that the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds clear ſhould be granted for the civil-liſt during his Majeſty's life. A motion being made for an addreſs againſt penſions, it was oppoſed by Mr. Walpole, and over-ruled by the majority. The Lords paſſed the bill for regulating the land forces, with ſome amendments.

§ XIII. On the eighteenth day of May, Sir John Norris ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Baltick, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had ſuffered from the King of Sweden, who cauſed all ſhips trading to thoſe parts to be ſeized and confiſcated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the Allies for the ſecurity of the Empire; and conſidered the Engliſh and Dutch as his enemies. The miniſters of England and the States-General had preſented memorials to the Regency of Sweden; but finding no redreſs, they reſolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swediſh general, Steenboch, and his army were made priſoners, Count Wellen concluded a treaty with the adminiſtrator of Holſtein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wiſma were ſequeſtered into the hands of the King of Pruſſia; the adminiſtrator engaged to ſecure them, and all the reſt of Swediſh Pomerania, from the Poles and Muſcovites; but, as the governor of Pomerania refuſed

fused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Sten to surrender. Then the governor consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rix-dollars. to indemnify them for the expence of the siege. The King of Sweden returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money. As this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friend; King George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the King of Denmark, by which the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swede in his absence, were made over to his Britannick Majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly, he took possession of the duchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen; but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlescroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar. CHAP. I.

§ XIV. The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malcontents in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated

BOOK II. 1715. the anniverſary of the King's birth-day with the uſual marks of joy and feſtivity, were inſulted by the populace; but, next day, which was the anniverſary of the reſtoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations and echoed with the ſound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life-guards, who patroled through the ſtreets, to join in the cry of "High-church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned the picture of King William. Thirty perſons were impriſoned for being concerned in theſe riots. One Bournois, a ſchoolmaſter, who affirmed that King George had no right to the Crown, was tried, and ſcourged through the city, with ſuch ſeverity, that in a few days he expired in the utmoſt torture. A frivolous incident ſerved to increaſe the popular ferment. The ſhirts allowed to the firſt regiment of guards, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, were ſo coarſe, that the ſoldiers could hardly be perſuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the garden of the King's palace, and into that which belonged to the Duke of Marlborough. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the ſhopkeepers and paſſengers, exclaiming, "Theſe are the Hanover ſhirts." The court being informed of this clamour, ordered thoſe new ſhirts to be burned immediately; but even this ſacrifice and an advertiſement publiſhed by the Duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of ſuſpicion that he was concerned in this mean ſpecies of peculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any perſon that would diſcover one Captain Wight, who by an intercepted letter, appeared to be diſaffected to King George; and Mr. George Jefferies was ſeized at Dublin, with a packet, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Several treaſonable papers being found in this packet, were tranſmitted to England;

Jefferies

Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abſcond. CHAP. I. 1715.

§ XV. The Houſe of Lords, to demonſtrate their abhorrence of all who ſhould engage in conſpiracies againſt their Sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition preſented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Caſils, Barnarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued priſoners, for having conſpired againſt the life of King William. On the ninth day of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the ſecret committee, declared to the Houſe of Commons, that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved, That a warrant might be iſſued by Mr. Speaker, for apprehending ſeveral perſons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the Houſe, were immediately taken into cuſtody. Then he recited the report, ranged under theſe different heads: the clandeſtine negociation with Monſieur Menager: the extraordinary meaſures purſued to form the congreſs at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the Britiſh miniſters: the negociation about the renunciation of the Spaniſh monarchy: the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms: the ſeizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to diſtreſs the Allies and favour the French: the Duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general: the Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negociate a ſeparate peace: Mr. Prior's and the Duke of Shrewſbury's negociation in France: the precipitate concluſion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being read, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That the conſideration of it ſhould be adjourned to a certain day; and that in the mean time the report ſhould be printed for the peruſal of the members: he was ſeconded by the Tories: a debate enſued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

§ XVI. This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke of high-

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high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanours. Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to Lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high-treaſon; and General Roſs expreſſed the ſame ſentiment. Then Lord Coninſby ſtanding up, "The worthy chairman (ſaid he) has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I the juſtice: he has impeached the ſcholar, and I the maſter. I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high-treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanours." Mr. Auditor Harley, the Earl's brother, ſpoke in vindication of that miniſter. He affirmed he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his Sovereign: that the peace was a good peace, and approved as ſuch by two Parliaments; and that the facts charged to him in the report amounted only to miſdemeanours: if the ſanction of a Parliament, which is the repreſentative and legiſlature of the nation, be not ſufficient to protect a miniſter from the vengeance of his enemies, he can have no ſecurity. Mr. Auditor Foley, the Earl's brother-in-law, made a ſpeech to the ſame purpoſe: Sir Joſeph Jekyll, a ſtaunch Whig, and member of the ſecret committee, expreſſed his doubt, whether they had ſufficient matter or evidence to impeach the Earl of high-treaſon. Nevertheleſs, the Houſe reſolved to impeach him, without a diviſion. When he appeared in the Houſe of Lords next day, he found himſelf deſerted by his brother peers, as infectious; and retired with ſigns of confuſion. Prior and Harley having been examined by ſuch of the committee as were juſtices of the peace for Middleſex, Mr. Walpole informed the Houſe that matters of ſuch importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move them for that member's being cloſely confined. Prior was accordingly impriſoned, and cut off from all communication. On the

the twenty-first day of June, Mr. Secretary Stanhope impeached James, Duke of Ormond, of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favour of the Duke. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications: he enumerated the great services performed to the Crown and nation by his Grace and his ancestors: he observed, that in the whole course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the Queen's commands; and he affirmed that all the allegations against him could not in the rigour of the law, be construed into high-treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by General Lumley, who urged that the Duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage; and that he had generously expended the best part of his estate, by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his Sovereign. Sir Joseph Jekyll said, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country; that, as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the House ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the Duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the Duke in this emergency; but all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered. The question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted

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BOOK II. 1715. conſulted his own ſafety, by withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom. On the twenty-ſecond day of June, the Earl of Strafford was likewiſe impeached by Mr. Aiſlaby, for having adviſed the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms, and the ſeizing of Ghent and Bruges; as well as for having treated the moſt Serene Houſe of Hanover with inſolence and contempt. He was alſo defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies.

§ XVII. When the articles againſt the Earl of Oxford were read in the Houſe, a warm debate aroſe upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having adviſed the French King in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-General. The queſtion being put, Whether this article amounted to high-treaſon; Sir Robert Raymond, formerly ſolicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was ſupported not only by Sir William Wyndham, and the Tories, but alſo by Sir Joſeph Jekyll. This honeſt patriot ſaid it was ever his principle to do juſtice to every body, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and that it was the duty of an honeſt man never to act by a ſpirit of party: that he hoped he might pretend to have ſome knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and would not ſcruple to declare, that, in his judgment, the charge in queſtion did not amount to high-treaſon. Mr. Walpole anſwered with great warmth, that there were ſeveral perſons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the leaſt yield to that member in point of honeſty, and who were ſuperior to him in the knowledge of the laws, yet were ſatisfied that the charge ſpecified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treaſon. This point being decided againſt the Earl, and the other articles approved by the Houſe, Lord Coningſby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the Earl of Oxford at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, demanding at the ſame time, that he might be ſequeſtered from Parliament, and committed

mittted to ſafe cuſtody. A motion was made, that the conſideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a ſhort debate the articles were read; then the Tory Lords moved that the judges might be conſulted. The motion being rejected, another was made, that the Earl ſhould be committed to ſafe cuſtody; this occaſioned another debate, in which he himſelf ſpoke to the following purpoſe; That the whole charge might be reduced to the negociations and concluſion of the peace; that the nation wanted a peace, he ſaid, nobody would deny; that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, conſidering the backwardneſs and reluctancy which ſome of the Allies ſhowed to come into the Queen's meaſures: that the peace was approved by two ſucceſſive Parliaments; that he had no ſhare in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly tranſacted by that unfortunate nobleman who has thought fit to ſtep aſide: that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late Queen, without offending againſt any known law; and, being juſtified by his own conſcience, was unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man; that, if miniſters of ſtate, acting by the immediate commands of their ſovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the caſe with all the members of that auguſt aſſembly: that he did not doubt their Lordſhips, out of regard to themſelves, would give him an equitable hearing: and that in the proſecution of the enquiry it would appear he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favour of his government. "My Lords (ſaid he) "I am now to take my leave of your Lordſhips, and "of this honourable Houſe, perhaps for ever; I ſhall "lay down my life with pleaſure in a cauſe favoured "by my late dear Royal Miſtreſs. When I conſider "that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour, "and virtue of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and "retire

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" retire with great content; and, my Lords, God's " will be done." The Duke of Shrewſbury having acquainted the Houſe that the Earl was very much indiſpoſed with the gravel, he was ſuffered to remain at his own houſe, in cuſtody of the Black-rod: in his way thither, he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, " High-church, Or- " mond and Oxford, for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar; where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his anſwer. Though Dr. Mead declared that if the Earl ſhould be ſent to the Tower his life would be in danger, it was carried, on a diviſion, that he ſhould be conveyed thither on the ſixteenth day of July. During the debate, the Earl of Angleſea obſerved that theſe impeachments were diſagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared ſuch violent meaſures would make the ſceptre ſhake in the King's hands. This expreſſion kindled the whole Houſe into a flame. Some members cried, " To the Tower!" ſome, " To order!" The Earl of Sunderland declared, that if theſe words had been ſpoken in another place he would have called the perſon that ſpoke them to an account: in the mean time, he moved that the noble Lord ſhould explain himſelf. Angleſea, dreading the reſentment of the Houſe, was glad to make an apology; which was accepted. The Earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourſe of people, who did not ſcruple to exclaim againſt his perſecutors. Tumults were raiſed in Staffordſhire, and other parts of the kingdom, againſt the Whig-party, which had depreſſed the friends of the church, and embroiled the nation. The Houſe of Commons preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring that the laws might be vigorouſly executed againſt the rioters. They prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing, that if any perſons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully aſſembled, ſhould continue together one hour

hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in publick, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. CHAP. 1715.

§ XVIII. When the King went to the House of Peers, on the twentieth day of July, to give the royal assent to this, and some other bills, he told both Houses that a rebellion was actually begun at home; and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He, therefore, expected that the Commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the publick safety. Addresses in the usual style were immediately presented by the Parliament, the Convocation, the Common-council and Lieutenancy of London, and the two universities: but that of Oxford was received in the most contemptuous manner; and the deputies were charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the scholars of the university. The addresses from the Kirk of Scotland, and the Dissenting Ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The Parliament forthwith passed a bill, empowering the King to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas-Corpus-Act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the Pretender dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: General Earle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-Park: Lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of Brigadier Sutton, who, together with Lord Windsor, the generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons,

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goons, and eight of infantry; and the trained-bands were kept in readineſs to ſuppreſs tumults. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions the Commons added ſix articles to thoſe exhibited againſt the Earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the Houſe of Lords by Mr. Walpole. Bills being brought in to ſummon him and the Duke of Ormond to ſurrender themſelves by the tenth of September, or, in default thereof, to attaint them of high-treaſon, they paſſed both Houſes, and received the royal aſſent. On the laſt day of Auguſt, the Commons agreed to the articles againſt the Earl of Strafford, which being preſented to the Houſe of Lords, the Earl made a ſpeech in his own vindication. He complained that his papers had been ſeized in an unprecedented manner. He ſaid, if he had in his letters or diſcourſe dropped any unguarded expreſſions againſt ſome foreign miniſters, while he had the honour to repreſent the Crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a Britiſh Houſe of Peers: he deſired he might be allowed a competent time to anſwer the articles brought againſt him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of ſecrecy, or remained in the hands of government, to be uſed occaſionally in his juſtification. This requeſt was vehemently oppoſed by the leaders of the other party, until the Earl of Ilay repreſented that, in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the Inquiſition, allowed the perſons arraigned all that was neceſſary for their juſtification; and that the Houſe of Peers of Great Britain ought not, in this caſe, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were ſo juſtly renowned throughout all Europe. This obſervation made an impreſſion on the Houſe, which reſolved that the Earl ſhould be indulged with copies of ſuch papers as he might have occaſion to uſe in his defence.

§ XIX.

§ XIX. On the third day of September, Oxford's anſwer was delivered to the Houſe of Lords, who tranſmitted it to the Commons. Mr. Walpole, having heard it read, ſaid it contained little more than a repetition of what had been ſuggeſted in ſome pamphlets and papers which had been publiſhed in vindication of the late miniſtry: that it was a falſe and malicious libel, laying upon his Royal Miſtreſs the blame of all the pernicious meaſures he had led her into, againſt her own honour, and the good of his country: that it was likewiſe a libel on the proceedings of the Commons, ſince he endeavoured to clear thoſe perſons who had already confeſſed their guilt by flight. After ſome debate, the Houſe reſolved, That the anſwer of Robert Earl of Oxford ſhould be referred to the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment and prepare evidence againſt the impeached Lords; and that the Committee ſhould prepare a replication to the anſwer. This was accordingly prepared, and ſent up to the Lords. Then the Committee reported, That Mr. Prior had groſsly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke having omitted to ſurrender themſelves within the time limited, the Houſe of Lords ordered the Earl-Marſhal to raze out of the liſt of Peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the Duke's atchievement, as Knight of the Garter, was taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windſor. A man of candour cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the perſon of a brave, generous, and humane Nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his Sovereign. About this period, the Royal aſſent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this law the tenant who

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continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the Pretender, was inveſted with the property of the lands he rented: on the other hand, it was decreed that the lands poſſeſſed by any perſon guilty of high-treaſon ſhould revert to the ſuperior of whom they were held, and be conſolidated with the ſuperiority; and that all entails and ſettlements of eſtates, ſince the firſt day of Auguſt, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the puniſhment of the law due to the offence of high-treaſon, ſhould be null and void. It likewiſe contained a clauſe for ſummoning ſuſpected perſons to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clauſe all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other ſuſpected perſons, were ſummoned to Edinburgh; and thoſe who did not appear were declared rebels.

§ XX. By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The diſſenſions occaſioned in that country by the Union had never been wholly appeaſed. Even ſince the Queen's death, addreſſes were prepared in different parts of Scotland againſt the Union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this averſion. Though their hopes of diſſolving that treaty were baffled by the induſtry and other arts of the Revolutioners, who ſecured a majority of Whigs in Parliament, they did not lay aſide their deſigns of attempting ſomething of conſequence in favour of the Pretender: but maintained a correſpondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehenſion, hard uſage, and reſentment into a ſyſtem of politicks, which otherwiſe they would not have eſpouſed. The Tories finding themſelves totally excluded from any ſhare in the government and legiſlature, and expoſed to the inſolence and fury of a faction which they deſpiſed, began to wiſh in earneſt for a revolution. Some of them held private conſultations, and communicated with

with the Jacobites, who conveyed their ſentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with ſuch exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerneſs and extravagance. They aſſured the Pretender that the nation was wholly diſaffected to the now government; and, indeed, the clamours, tumults, and converſation of the people in general countenanced this aſſertion. They promiſed to take arms without further delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories ſhould join him at his firſt landing in Great Britain. They, therefore, beſought him to come over with all poſſible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The Chevalier reſolved to take the advantage of this favourable diſpoſition. He had recourſe to the French King, who had always been the refuge of his family. Louis favoured him in ſecret; and, notwithſtanding his late engagements with England, cheriſhed the ambition of raiſing him to the throne of Great Britain. He ſupplied him privately with ſums of money, to prepare a ſmall armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut; and, without all doubt, his deſign was to aſſiſt him more effectually, in proportion as the Engliſh ſhould manifeſt their attachment to the Houſe of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themſelves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the ſervice of the Chevalier, and correſponded with the Tories of England.

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§ XXI. All theſe intrigues and machinations were diſcovered and communicated to the Court of London by the Earl of Stair, who then reſided as Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unqueſtioned honour and integrity, generous, humane, diſcerning, and reſolute. He had ſignalized himſelf by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another ſphere with uncommon vi-

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gour, vigilance, and addreſs. He detected the Chevalier's ſcheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave ſuch early notice of it as enabled the King of Great Britain to take effectual meaſures for defeating the deſign. All the Pretender's intereſt in France expired with Louis XIV. that oſtentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century ſacrificed the repoſe of Chriſtendom to his inſatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the firſt day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of Orleans, who adopted a new ſyſtem of politicks, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great Britain. Inſtead of aſſiſting the Pretender, he amuſed his agents with myſterious and equivocal expreſſions, calculated to fruſtrate the deſign of the expedition. Nevertheleſs, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cauſe, and depended upon him for ſuccour. They even extorted from him a ſum of money by dint of importunities, and ſome arms; but the veſſel was ſhipwrecked, and the cargo loſt upon the coaſt of Scotland.

§ XXII. The partiſans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with ſafety; and, therefore, reſolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held conſultations with the Marquiſſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls Mariſchal and Southeſk, the Generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he aſſembled three hundred of his own vaſſals; proclaimed the Pretender at Caſtletown, and ſet up his ſtandard at Brae-Mar, on the ſixth day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deſkford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other perſons ſuſpected of diſaffection to the preſent government, were committed priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh; and Major-General Whetham marched with

with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to ſecure the bridge at Stirling. Before theſe precautions were taken, two veſſels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who aſſured the Earl of Mar, that the Pretender would ſoon be with them in perſon. The death of Louis XIV. ſtruck a general damp upon their ſpirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and meſſages, preſſed the Chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the mean time, aſſumed the title of Lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, and publiſhed a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful ſovereign. This was followed by a ſhrewd manifeſto, explaining the national grievances, and aſſuring the people of redreſs. Some of his partiſans attempted to ſurprize the caſtle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Stuart, Lieutenant-governor of that fortreſs. The Duke of Argyle ſet out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North Britain: the Earl of Sutherland ſet ſail in the Queenborough ſhip of war for the North, where he propoſed to raiſe his vaſſals for the ſervice of government; and many other Scottiſh Peers returned to their own country, in order to ſignalize their loyalty to King George.

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§ XXIII. In England the practices of the Jacobites did not eſcape the notice of the miniſtry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was impriſoned in the Gate-houſe for inliſting men in the ſervice of the Pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: Lords Lanſdown and Duplin were taken into cuſtody; and a warrant was iſſued for apprehending the Earl of Jerſey. The King deſired the conſent of the Lower Houſe to ſeize and detain Sir Willam Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas

BOOK II. 1715. Forſter, Mr. John Anſtis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaſton, who were members of the Houſe, and ſuſpected of favouring the invaſion. The Commons unanimouſly agreed to the propoſal, and preſented an addreſs, ſignifying their approbation. Harvey and Anſtis were immediately ſecured. Forſter, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Popiſh Lords, aſſembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the Council, was diſmiſſed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaſton abſconded: Sir William Wyndham was ſeized at his own houſe in Somerſetſhire by Colonel Huſke and a meſſenger, who ſecured his papers: he found means, however, to eſcape from them; but afterwards ſurrendered himſelf, and, having been examined at the Council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerſet offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail expreſſed his reſentment ſo warmly, that the King thought proper to remove him from the office of Maſter of the Horſe. On the twenty-firſt day of September, the King went to the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed the bills that were ready for the Royal aſſent. Then the Chancellor read his Majeſty's ſpeech expreſſing his acknowledgement and ſatisfaction, in conſequence of the uncommon marks of their affection he had received: and the Parliament adjourned to the ſixth day of October.

§ XXIV. The friends of the Houſe of Stuart were very numerous in the weſtern counties, and began to make preparations for an inſurrection. They had concealed ſome arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a deſign to ſurprize Briſtol: but they were betrayed and diſcovered by the emiſſaries of the government; which baffled all their ſchemes, and apprehended every perſon of conſequence ſuſpected of attachment to that cauſe. The Univerſity of Oxford felt the rod of power on that occaſion. Major-General Pepper, with a ſtrong detachment of dragoons,

dragoons, took poſſeſſion of the city at day-break, declaring he would uſe military execution on all ſtudents who ſhould preſume to appear without the limits of their reſpective colleges. He ſeized ten or eleven perſons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffeeman; and made prize of ſome horſes and furniture belonging to Colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handaſyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to over-awe the Univerſity. The Miniſtry found it more difficult to ſuppreſs the inſurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forſter took the field with a body of horſe, and being joined by ſome gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. The firſt deſign was to ſeize the town of Newcaſtle, in which they had many friends: but they found the gates ſhut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter having aſſembled a body of dragoons, reſolved to march from Newcaſtle, and attack them before they ſhould be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward to Woller, were joined by two hundred Scottiſh horſe under the Lord Viſcount Kenmuir, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had ſet up the Pretender's ſtandard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelſo, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintoſh, who had croſſed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

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§ XXV. By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of ten thouſand men well armed. He had ſecured the paſs of the Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were eſtabliſhed, and made himſelf maſter of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the ſea-coaſt on that ſide of the Frith of Edinburgh. He ſelected two thouſand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintoſh, to make a deſcent

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upon the Lothian ſide, and join the Jacobites in that county, or ſuch as ſhould take arms on the borders of England. Boats were aſſembled for this purpoſe: and, notwithſtanding all the precautions that could be taken by the King's ſhips in the Frith, to prevent the deſign, above fifteen hundred choſen men made good their paſſage in the night, and landed on the coaſt of Lothian, having croſſed an arm of the ſea about ſixteen miles broad, in open boats that paſſed through the midſt of the King's cruiſers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprize. They amuſed the King's ſhips with marches and counter-marches along the coaſt, in ſuch a manner that they could not poſſibly know where they intended to embark. The Earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to croſs the Forth at Stirling-bridge: but his real deſign was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the ſcheme ſucceeded. The Duke, who had aſſembled ſome troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmoſt expedition, after having ſecured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintoſh to abandon his deſign on that city. This partiſan had actually taken poſſeſſion of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-houſe, near Preſton-Pans, which he fortified in ſuch a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order acroſs the Frith from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmuir and the Engliſh at Kelſo, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on he twenty-ſecond day of October, though a good number of his men had deſerted on the route.

§ XXVI. The Lord Kenmuir, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithſdale, and Carnwath, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forſter, with the Engliſh inſurgents, arriving at the ſame time, a council of war was

was immediately called. Wintoun propoſed that they ſhould march immediately into the weſtern parts of Scotland, and join General Gordon, who commanded a ſtrong body of Highlanders in Argyleſhire. The Engliſh inſiſted upon croſſing the Tweed, and attacking General Carpenter, whoſe troops did not exceed nine huudred dragoons. Neither ſcheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they reſolved to leave Carpenter on one ſide, and penetrate into England by the weſtern border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the ſcheme propoſed by the Earl of Wintoun. Means, however, were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the reſt returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forſter opened his commiſſion of General, which had been ſent to him from the Earl of Mar, and proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the Sheriff, aſſiſted by the Lord Lonſdale and the Biſhop of Carliſle, had aſſembled the whole poſſe-comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thouſand men, who diſperſed with the utmoſt precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forſter proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaſter to Preſton, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; ſo that he took poſſeſſion of the place without reſiſtance. General Willis marched againſt the enemy with ſix regiments of horſe and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preſton. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forſter received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raiſe barricadoes, and put the place in a poſture of defence. On the twelfth day of November, the town was briſkly attacked in two different places: but the King's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Next day

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General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were inveſted on all ſides. The Highlanders declared they would make a ſally ſword in hand, and either cut their way through the King's troops, or periſh in the attempt; but they were over-ruled. Forſter ſent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to General Willis, to propoſe a capitulation. He was given to underſtand, that the General would not treat with rebels; but in caſe of their ſurrendering at diſcretion, he would prevent his ſoldiers from putting them to the ſword, until he ſhould receive further orders. He granted them time to conſider till next morning, upon their delivering the Earl of Derwentwater and Mackintoſh as hoſtages. When Forſter ſubmitted, this Highlander declared he could not promiſe that the Scots would ſurrender in that manner. The General deſired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which caſe every man of them ſhould be cut to pieces. The Scottiſh noblemen did not chooſe to run the riſque; and perſuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a ſtrong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were ſecured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaftoe, and enſign Erſkine, were tried by a Court martial as deſerters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, ſon of the Duke of Athol, was likewiſe condemned for the ſame crime, but reprieved. The common men were impriſoned at Cheſter and Liverpool, the noblemen and conſiderable officers were ſent to London, conveyed through the ſtrees pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

§ XXVII. The day on which the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton was remarkable for the battle of Dumblaine, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the Pretender's

der's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he underſtood the Duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans under the Earl of Seaforth, and thoſe of the weſt commanded by General Gordon, who had ſignalized himſelf in the ſervice of the Czar of Muſcovy, he reſolved to paſs the Forth, in order to join his ſouthern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and reſted on the eleventh day of November. The Duke of Argyle, appriſed of his intention, and being joined by ſome regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle paſſed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriff-moor. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army conſiſting of nine thouſand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke, underſtanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thouſand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-eaſt of Dumblaine: but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the King's army ſword in hand, with ſuch impetuoſity, that in ſeven minutes both horſe and foot were totally routed with great ſlaughter; and General Whethem, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the Royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in perſon on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan;

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Allan: yet in that ſpace they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; ſo that he was obliged to preſs them hard, that they might not recover from their confuſion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to ſuſtain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels having purſued Whetham a conſiderable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thouſand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the purſuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken poſſeſſion of ſome encloſures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this poſture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual moleſtation. Next day the Duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the army, and retreated to Stirling. Few priſoners were taken on either ſide: the number of the ſlain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not ſo fatal to the Highlanders as the loſs of Inverneſs, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer Lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto profeſſed, ſecured this important poſt for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the North of Scotland, where the Earl of Sutherland had raiſed a conſiderable body of vaſſals. The Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time ſubmitted to King George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief againſt the Pretender: the Marquis of Tillibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country; and the clans, ſeeing no likelihood of another action, began to diſperſe, according to cuſtom.

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVIII. The government was now in a condition to ſend ſtrong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thouſand men that were claimed of the States-General, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: General Cadogan ſet out for the ſame place, together with Brigadier Petit, and ſix other engineers; and a train of artillery was ſhipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle reſolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amuſed with the hope of ſeeing the whole kingdom of England riſe up as one man in his behalf; and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitleſs voyage to the weſtern coaſt, to try the diſpoſition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other courſe to take, he reſolved to hazard his perſon among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were abſolutely deſperate. From Bretagne he poſted through part of France, in diſguiſe, and embarking in a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpoſe, arrived on the twenty-ſecond day of December at Peterhead with ſix gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Tinmouth, ſon to the Duke of Berwick. He paſſed through Aberdeen incognito, to Fetteroſſe, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Mariſchal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt quality. Here he was ſolemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighbourhood; and he received addreſſes from the epiſcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the dioceſe of Aberdeen. On the fifth day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the ſeventh arrived at Scone, where he ſeemed determined to ſtay until the ceremony of his coronation ſhould be performed. From thence he made

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an excurſion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and publiſhed ſix proclamations; one for a general thankſgiving, on account of his ſafe arrival; another enjoining the miniſters to pray for him in churches; a third eſtabliſhing the currency of foreign coins; a fourth ſummoning the meeting of the convention of eſtates; a fifth ordering all ſenſible men to repair to his ſtandard; and a ſixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetick ſpeech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party aſſiſted. They determined, however, to abandon the enterpriſe, as the King's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themſelves were not only reduced to a ſmall number, but likewiſe deſtitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and proviſion; for the Duke of Argyle had taken poſſeſſion of Burnt-iſland, and tranſported a detachment to Fife, ſo as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

§ XXIX. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of ſnow, which rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable, the Duke, on the twenty-ninth of January, began his march to Dumblaine, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took poſſeſſion of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in purſuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly purſued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a ſmall French ſhip that lay in the harbour of Montroſe. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melford, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and other perſons of diſtinction, to the number of ſeventeen. In order to avoid the Engliſh cruizers, they ſtretched over to Norway, and coaſting along the German and Dutch ſhores, arrived in five days at Graveline.

General

General Gordon, whom the Pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, assisted by the Earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenock, were the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt. CHAP. I. 1715.

§ XXX. The Parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth day of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England, for the present administration. They passed bills for recognising the King's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the Pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those who had addressed the late Queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees, and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They desired the Lords-Justices would issue a proclamation against the Popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitulation signed by King William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other Papists. They engaged in an association against the Pretender, and all his abettors. They voted the Earl of Anglesey an enemy to the King and kingdom,

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§ XXXI. The King, in his ſpeech to the Engliſh parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reaſon to believe the Pretender was landed in Scotland: he congratulated them on the ſucceſs of his arms in ſuppreſſing the rebellion: on the concluſion of the barrier treaty between the Emperor and the States-General, under his guarantee; on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom, from the new impoſitions and hardſhips to which it was ſubjected in conſequence of the late treaties. He likewiſe gave them to underſtand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the Crown of Great Britain and the States-General was almoſt concluded; and he aſſured the Commons he would freely give up all the eſtates that ſhould become forfeited to the Crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expence incurred on this occaſion. The Commons, in their addreſs of thanks, declared that they would proſecute, in the moſt vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of thoſe deſtructive councils which had drawn down ſuch miſeries upon the nation. Their reſolutions were ſpeedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forſter from the Houſe. They forthwith impeached the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; Lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. Theſe noblemen being brought to the bar of the Houſe of Lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their anſwers

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anſwers on the ſixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the Lower Houſe ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act: then they prepared another to attaint the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and Lord John Drummond. On the twenty-firſt day of January, the King gave the Royal aſſent to the bill for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act. He told the Parliament that the Pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and aſſuming the ſtyle and title of King of theſe realms; he demanded of the Commons ſuch ſupply as might diſcourage any foreign power from aſſiſting the rebels. On Thurſday the nineteenth day of January, all the impeached Lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited againſt them, except the Earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time, on various pretences. The reſt received ſentence of death, on the ninth day of February, in the court erected in Weſtminſter-hall, where the Lord Chancellor Cowper preſided as Lord High-Steward on that occaſion. The Counteſs of Nithdale and Lady Nairn threw themſelves at the King's feet, as he paſſed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their huſbands: but their tears and entreaties produced no effect. The council reſolved that the ſentence ſhould be executed, and orders were given for that purpoſe to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London and Middleſex.

§ XXXII. The Counteſs of Derwentwater, with her ſiſter, accompanied by the Ducheſſes of Cleveland and Bolton, and ſeveral other Ladies of the firſt diſtinction, was introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's into the King's bed-chamber, where ſhe invoked his Majeſty's clemency for her unfortunate conſort. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the Houſe of Peers, attended by the Ladies of the other condemned Lords, and above twenty

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ployed on his eſtate: the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, ſenſible, reſolute, and reſigned. He was a devout member of the Engliſh church; but the other died in the faith of Rome: both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, Wintoun was brought to trial, and being convicted received ſentence of death.

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§ XXXIII. When the King paſſed the land-tax bill, which was uſhered in with a very extraordinary preamble, he informed both Houſes of the Pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commiſſion for trying the rebels met in the court of Common-Pleas, when bills of high-treaſon were found againſt Mr. Forſter, Mackintoſh, and twenty of their confederates. Forſter eſcaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in ſafety: the reſt pleaded Not-guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges, appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a conſiderable number guilty of high-treaſon. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preſton and Mancheſter: about a thouſand priſoners ſubmitted to the King's mercy, and petitioned for tranſportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being ſuſpected of having connived at Forſter's eſcape, was tried for his life at the Old-Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithſtanding this proſecution, which ought to have redoubled the vigilance of the jailors, Brigadier Mackintoſh, and ſeveral other priſoners, broke from Newgate, after having maſtered the keeper and turnkey, and diſarmed the ſentinel. The court proceeded with the trials of thoſe that remained; and a great number were found guilty: four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn: and among theſe was one William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his laſt ſpeech, profeſſed himſelf a true and ſincere member of the Church of England, but not of the revo-

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lution ſchiſmatical Church, whoſe Biſhops had abandoned the King, and ſhamefully given up their eccleſiaſtical rights, by ſubmitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay-deprivations authoriſed by the Prince of Orange.

§ XXXIV. Though the rebellion was extinguiſhed, the flame of national diſſatisfaction ſtill continued to rage: the ſeverities exerciſed againſt the rebels increaſed the general diſcontent: for now the danger was blown over their humane paſſions began to prevail. The courage and fortitude with which the condemned perſons encountered the pains of death in its moſt dreadful form, prepoſſeſſed many ſpectators in favour of the cauſe by which thoſe unhappy victims were animated. In a word, perſecution, as uſual, extended the hereſy. The miniſtry, perceiving this univerſal diſſatisfaction, and dreading the revolution of a new Parliament, which might wreſt the power from their faction, and retort upon them the violence of their own meaſures, formed a reſolution equally odious and effectual to eſtabliſh their adminiſtration. This was no other than a ſcheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of Parliaments to ſeven years. On the tenth day of April, the Duke of Devonſhire repreſented, in the Houſe of Lords, that triennial elections ſerved to keep up party diviſions; to raiſe and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expences, and give occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign Princes: that it became the wiſdom of ſuch an auguſt aſſembly, to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the preſent temper of the nation, as the ſpirit of rebellion ſtill remained unconquered. He, therefore, propoſed a bill for enlarging the continuance of Parliaments. He was ſeconded by the Earls of Dorſet and Rockingham, the Duke of Argyle, Lord Townſhend, and the other chiefs of that party. The motion

tion was opposed by the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet. They observed, that frequent Parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages: that the members of the Lower House were chosen by the body of the nation, for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the Parliament's protracting its own authority would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who, through ignorance or corruption, betrayed the trust reposed in them: that the reasons in favour of such a bill were weak and frivolous: that, with respect to foreign alliances, no Prince or State could reasonably depend upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own: nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported: on the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the Popish faction was so dangerous as to threaten destruction to the government: they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety: that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted; and that the good affections of the people were restrained within the limits of the House of Commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expence of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every species of corruption; for the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a Parliament; and the purchase would rise accordingly: that a long Parliament would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity to a vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the Parliaments were short and

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frequent: that the ſame reaſons urged for paſſing the bill to continue this Parliament for ſeven years would be at leaſt as ſtrong, and, by the conduct of the miniſtry, might be made much ſtronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating their legiſlative power, to the abſolute ſubverſion of the third eſtate of the realm. Theſe arguments ſerved only to form a decent debate, after which the bill for ſeptennial Parliaments paſſed by a great majority; though twenty Peers entered a proteſt. It met with the ſame fate in the Lower Houſe, where many ſtrong objections were ſtated to no purpoſe. They were repreſented as the effects of party ſpleen; and, indeed, this was the great ſpring of action on both ſides. The queſtion for the bill was carried in the affirmative; and in a little time it received the Royal ſanction.

§ XXXV. The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the ſuſpected perſons of conſequence detained in ſafe cuſtody, the King reſolved to viſit his German dominions, where he foreſaw a ſtorm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exaſperated againſt the Elector of Hanover, for having entered into the confederacy againſt him in his abſence, particularly for his having purchaſed the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which conſtituted part of his dominions; and he breathed nothing but revenge againſt the King of Great Britain. It was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare againſt it, that the King now determined upon a voyage to the continent. But as he was reſtricted from leaving his Britiſh dominions, by the act for the further limitation of the Crown, this clauſe was repealed in a new bill that paſſed through both Houſes without the leaſt difficulty. On the twenty-ſixth day of June, the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech upon the uſual topicks, in which, however, he obſerved, that the numerous inſtances of mercy he had ſhewn, ſerved only to encourage the faction

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of the Pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world that they were not to be reclaimed by gentle methods. He intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the Prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period, General Macartney, who had returned to England at the accession of King George, presented himself to trial for the murther of the Duke of Hamilton. The deposition of Colonel Hamilton was contradicted by two park-keepers: the General was acquitted of the charge, restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment. The King's brother Prince Ernest, Bishop of Osnabruck, was created Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster. The Duke of Argyle, and his brother the Earl of Ilay, to whom his Majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employments. General Carpenter succeeded the Duke in the chief command of the forces in North Britain, and in the government of Port-Mahon; and the Duke of Montrose was appointed Lord-Register of Scotland in the room of the Earl of Ilay.

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§ XXXVI. On the seventh day of July, the King embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he passed incognito to Hanover, and from thence set out for Pyrmont. His aim was to secure his German dominions from the Swede, and Great Britain from the Pretender. These two Princes had already begun to form a design, in conjunction of invading his kingdom. He knew the Duke of Orleans was resolved to ascend the throne of France, in case the young King, who was a sickly child, should die without male issue. The Regent was not ignorant that Philip of Spain

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would powerfully conteſt that ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding his renunciation; and he was glad of an opportunity to ſtrengthen his intereſt by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland. The King of England ſounded him on this ſubject, and found him eager to engage in ſuch an aſſociation. The negociation was carried on by General Cadogan for England, the Abbé du Bois for France and the Penſionary Heinſius for the States-General. The Regent readily complied with all their demands. He engaged that the Pretender ſhould immediately depart from Avignon to the other ſide of the Alps, and never return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatſoever: that no rebellious ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould be allowed to reſide in that kingdom: and that the treaty of Utrecht, with reſpect to the demolition of Dunkirk, ſhould be fully executed to the ſatisfaction of his Britannick Majeſty. The treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all the places poſſeſſed by the contracting powers: of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of England, as well as of that of the Duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defenſive alliance, ſtipulating the proportion of ſhips and forces to be furniſhed to that power which ſhould be diſturbed at home or invaded from abroad. The Engliſh people murmured at this treaty. They ſaid an unneceſſary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connexions; and that on pretence of an invaſion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enſlave the kingdom.

§ XXXVII. His Majeſty was not ſo ſucceſsful in his endeavours to appeaſe the King of Sweden, who refuſed to liſten to any overtures until Bremen and Verden ſhould be reſtored. Theſe the Elector of Hanover reſolved to keep as a fair purchaſe; and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of Charles, for the maintenance of this acquiſition. Meanwhile his rupture with Sweden was extremely prejudicial

prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh entailed upon the kingdom another invasion, much more formidable than that which had so lately miscarried. The ministers of Sweden resident at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain. A scheme was formed for the Swedish King's landing on this island with a considerable body of forces, where he should be joined by the malcontents of the united kingdom. Charles relished the enterprize, which flattered his ambition and revenge: nor was it disagreeable to the Czar of Muscovy, who resented the Elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George having received intimation of these intrigues, returned to England towards the end of January; and ordered a detachment of foot-guards to secure Count Gyllenburg, the Swedish minister, with all his papers. At the same time, Sir Jacob Bancks and Mr. Charles Cæsar were apprehended. The other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry upon this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two Secretaries, Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced the King to take such an extraordinary step. They were generally satisfied with this intimation: but the Marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, expressed his concern, that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom, without arresting the person of a publick minister, and seizing all his papers; which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets: he observed, that in whatever manner these two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time Baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim,

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Arnheim, at the desire of King George, communicated to the States by Mr. Leathes, his minister at the Hague. The Baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that was justified by the conduct of King George, who had joined the Princes in confederacy against the King of Sweden, without having received the least provocation; who had assisted the King of Denmark in subduing the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchased them of the usurper; and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltick, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

§ XXXVIII. When the Parliament of Great Britain met on the twentieth day of February, the King informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland. He mentioned the projected invasion; told them he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters which had passed between the Scottish ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the Commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom. By those papers it appeared that the scheme projected by Baron Gortz was very plausible, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country. The letters being read in Parliament, both Houses presented addresses, in which they extolled the King's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonourable peace; and they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country. He likewise received an address of the same kind from the convention; another from the dissenting ministers; a third

from the univerſity of Cambridge; but Oxford was not ſo laviſh of her compliments. At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and heads of that univerſity, a motion was made for an addreſs to the King, on the ſuppreſſion of the late unnatural rebellion, his Majeſty's ſafe return, and the favour lately ſhewn to the univerſity, in omitting, at their requeſt, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the Pope, the Pretender, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Mar, on the anniverſary of his Majeſty's acceſſion. Dr. Smalridge, Biſhop of Briſtol, obſerved, that the rebellion had been long ſuppreſſed: that there would be no end of addreſſes, ſhould one be preſented every time his Majeſty returned from his German dominions; that the late favour they had received was overbalanced by a whole regiment now quartered upon them: and that there was no precedent for addreſſing a King upon his return from his German dominions. The univerſity thought they had reaſon to complain of the little regard paid to their remonſtrances, touching a riot raiſed in that city by the ſoldiers there quartered, on pretence that the anniverſary of the Prince's birth-day had not been celebrated with the uſual rejoicings. Affidavits had been ſent up to the council, which ſeemed to favour the officers of the regiment. When the Houſe of Lords deliberated upon the mutiny-bill, by which the ſoldiers were exempted from arreſts for debts, complaint was made of their licentious behaviour at Oxford; and a motion was made, that they ſhould enquire into the riot. The Lords preſented an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring that the papers relating to that affair might be laid before the Houſe. Theſe being peruſed, were found to be recriminations between the Oxonians and the officers of the regiment. A warm debate enſued, during which the Earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity, the mayor and magiſtrates of Oxford, praying to be heard. One of

BOOK II. 1716. of the court members obſerving that it would be irregular to receive a petition while the Houſe was in a grand committee, a motion was made, that the chairman ſhould leave the chair; but this being carried in the negative, the debate was reſumed, and the majority agreed to the following reſolutions: That the heads of the univerſity, and mayor of the city, neglected to make publick rejoicings on the Prince's birth-day: That the officers having met to celebrate that day, the houſe in which they had aſſembled was aſſaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble: That this aſſault was the beginning and occaſion of the riots that enſued. That the conduct of the major ſeemed well [illegible]tified by the affidavits produced on his part: That the printing and publiſhing the depoſitions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the Lords of the committee of the council, before they had time to come to any reſolution touching the ſame, was irregular, diſreſpectful to his Royal Highneſs, and tending to ſedition. An enquiry of this nature, ſo managed, did not much redound to the honour of ſuch an auguſt aſſembly.

Annals. State Trials. Deb. in Parliam. Tindal. Voltaire.

An. 1717. § XXXIX. The Commons paſſed a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmoſt conſequence to the Engliſh merchants. They voted ten thouſand ſeamen for the enſuing year; granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garriſons, and land forces; and paſſed the bill relating to mutiny and deſertion. The Houſe likewiſe voted four-and-twenty thouſand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munſter and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the King had taken into his ſervice, to ſupply the place of ſuch as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garriſons of the States-General to the aſſiſtance of England. This vote, however, was not carried without a violent debate. The demand

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was inveighed againſt as an impoſition, ſeeing no troops had ever ſerved. A motion was made for an addreſs, deſiring that the inſtructions of thoſe who concluded the treaties might be laid before the Houſe: but this was over-ruled by the majority*. The ſupplies were raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. What the Commons had given was not thought ſufficient for the expence of the year; therefore Mr. Secretary Stanhope brought a meſſage from his Majeſty, demanding an extraordinary ſupply, that he might be the better enabled to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a ſupply ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for this purpoſe. Mr. Shippen obſerved it was a great misfortune that the King was as little acquainted with the Parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country: that the meſſage was unparliamentary and unprecedented: and, in his opinion, penned by ſome foreign miniſter: he ſaid he had been often told that his Majeſty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flouriſhing condition of trade; but that the ſupply demanded ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the glorious advantages which his Majeſty had obtained for the people. He was ſeconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared that for his part he could not underſtand what occaſion there was for new alliances; much leſs that they ſhould be purchaſed with money. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe that a nation ſo lately the terror of France and Spain ſhould now ſeem to fear

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* This year was rendered famous by a complete victory which Prince Eugene obtained over the Turks at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of Auguſt. The Imperial army did not exceed ſixty thouſand men: that of the Infidels amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand, commanded by the Grand Viſir, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The Infidels were totally defeated, with the loſs of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; ſo that the victors obtained an immenſe booty.

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ſo inconſiderable an enemy as the King of Sweden. The motion was ſupported by Mr. Boſcawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and others; but ſome of the Whigs ſpoke againſt it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was ſilent. The Speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, oppoſed this unparliamentary way of demanding the ſupply: the former propoſed that part of the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the money applied towards the making good ſuch new engagements as were deemed neceſſary. After ſeveral ſucceſſive debates, the reſolution for a ſupply was carried by a majority of four voices.

§ XL. The Miniſtry was now divided within itſelf. Lord Townſhend had been removed from the office of Secretary of State, by the intrigues of the Earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewiſe diſmiſſed from the place of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Robert Walpole reſigned his poſts of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury and Chancellor of the Exchequer: his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney, Secretary at War, and Mr. Methuen, Secretary of State. When the affair of the ſupply was reſumed in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. Mr. Pulteney obſerved, that having reſigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Engliſhman: he declared againſt the manner of granting the ſupply, as unparliamentary and unprecedented. He ſaid he could not perſuade himſelf that any Engliſhman adviſed his Majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage; but he doubted not the reſolution of a Britiſh Parliament would make a German Miniſtry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the Houſe in vindication of the Miniſtry, Mr. Smith anſwered every article of his ſpeech: he affirmed, that if an eſtimate of the conduct of the Miniſtry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made from a compariſon of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether ſo faultleſs

less as they were represented. "Was it not a mis- CHAP. I. 1717.
"take (said he) not to preserve the peace at home,
"after the King had ascended the throne with the
"universal applause and joyful acclamations of all
"his subjects? Was it not a mistake, upon the
"breaking out of the rebellion, not to issue a pro-
"clamation, to offer pardon to such as should return
"home peaceably, according to the custom on for-
"mer occasions of the same nature? Was it not a
"mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion and
"the trial and execution of the principal authors
"of it, to keep up animosities, and drive people to
"despair, by not passing an act of indemnity, by
"keeping so many persons under hard and tedious
"confinement; and by granting pardons to some,
"without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it
"not a mistake, not to trust a vote of Parliament
"for making good such engagements as his Majesty
"should think proper to enter into; and instead of
"that, to insist on the granting this supply in such
"an extraordinary manner? Is it not a mistake, to
"take this opportunity to create divisions, and ren-
"der some of the King's best friends suspected and
"obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form
"parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to
"repeal the act of occasional conformity? A great number of members had agreed to this measure in private, though at this period it was not brought into the House of Commons. After a long debate the sum was granted. These were the first-fruits of Britain's being wedded to the interests of the continent. The Elector of Hanover quarrelled with the King of Sweden; and England was not only deprived of a necessary branch of commerce, but even obliged to support him in the prosecution of the war. The Ministry now underwent a new revolution. The Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed Secretaries of State: Mr. Stanhope became first Commissioner

BOOK II. Commiſſioner of the Treaſury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1717. § XLI. On the ſixth day of May, the King, going to the Houſe of Peers, gave the Parliament to underſtand, that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had ſailed to the Baltick, to obſerve the motions of the Swedes, was ſafely arrived in the Sound. He ſaid he had given orders for the immediate reduction of ten thouſand ſoldiers, as well as directions to prepare an act of indemnity. He deſired they would take proper meaſures for reducing the publick debts with a juſt regard to parliamentary credit; and that they would go through the publick buſineſs with all poſſible diſpatch and unanimity. Some progreſs had already been made in deliberations upon the debt of the nation, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The firſt had been contracted with a redeemable intereſt; and theſe the publick had a right to diſcharge: the others conſiſted of long and ſhort annuities granted for a greater or leſs number of years, which could not be altered without the conſent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a ſcheme for leſſening the intereſt, and paying the capital of thoſe debts, before he reſigned his place in the Exchequer. He propoſed, in the Houſe of Commons, to reduce the intereſt of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. His plan was approved; but, when he reſigned his places, the Miniſters made ſome ſmall alterations in it, which furniſhed him with a pretence for oppoſing the execution of the ſcheme. In the courſe of the debate, ſome warm altercation paſſed between him and Mr Stanhope, by which it appeared, they had made a practice of ſelling places and reverſions. Mr. Hungerford, ſtanding up, ſaid he was ſorry to ſee two ſuch great men running foul of one another; that, however, they ought to be looked upon as patriots and fathers of their country; and

since they had by mischance discovered their naked- CHAP. I.
ness, the other members ought, according to the cus- 1717.
tom of the East, to turn their backs upon them, that they might not be seen in such a shameful condition. Mr. Boscawen moved that the House would lay their commands upon them, that no further notice should be taken of what had passed. He was seconded by Mr. Methuen: the House approved of the motion: and the Speaker took their word and honour that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money-corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the House came to certain resolutions, on which were founded the three bills that passed into laws, under the names of "The South-Sea Act, "the Bank Act, and the General Fund Act." The original stock of the South-Sea Company did not exceed nine millions four hundred and seventy one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds; but the funds granted being sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at six per cent. the Company made up that sum to the Government, for which they received six hundred thousand pounds yearly, and eight thousand pounds a-year for management. By this act they declared themselves willing to receive five hundred thousand pounds, and the eight thousand for management. It was enacted, That the Company should continue a corporation, until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be paid at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery funds of the ninth and tenth years of Queen Anne. By the Bank Act the Governors and Company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty one pounds, seven shillings, and ten pence half-penny, or the principal of one million seven hundred

BOOK II. 1717. and ſeventy-five thouſand twenty-ſeven pounds ſeventeen ſhillings, and ten pence halfpenny, in lieu of the preſent annuity, amounting to one hundred and ſix thouſand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and five pence. They likewiſe declared themſelves willing to diſcharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many Exchequer-bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thouſand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate the remaining Exchequer-bills at three per cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, That the former allowances ſhould be continued to Chriſtmas, and then the Bank ſhould have for circulating the two millions five hundred and ſixty-one thouſand and twenty-five pounds remaining Exchequer-bills, an annuity of ſeventy-ſix thouſand eight hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen ſhillings, at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny a-day for intereſt. By the ſame acts the Bank was required to advance a ſum not exceeding two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, towards diſcharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that they ſhould have five pounds per cent. for as much as they might advance, redeemable by Parliament. The General-Fund Act recited ſeveral Acts of Parliament, for eſtabliſhing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the late Queen, and ſtated the annual produce of the ſeveral funds, amounting in all to ſeven hundred twenty-four thouſand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, ſix ſhillings and ten pence one-fifth. This was the General-Fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the firſt aids granted by Parliament. For the regular payment of all ſuch annuities as ſhould be made payable by this act, it was enacted, That all the duties and revenues mentioned therein ſhould continue for ever, with the proviſo, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual ſhould be

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subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the Sinking Fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the Bank and of the South-Sea Company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the General Fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debt as was incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceding year, in such manner as should be directed and appointed by any future Act of Parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever. CHAP. I. 1717.

§ XLII. The Earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. Some of the Tory Lords affirmed that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of Parliament, which superseded the whole proceedings; but the contrary was voted by a considerable majority. The thirteenth day of June was fixed for the trial; and the House of Commons made acquainted with this determination. The Commons appointed a Committee to enquire into the state of the Earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the Lords, demanding longer time to prepare for trial. Accordingly, the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June; and the Commons appointed the Committee, with four other members, to be managers for making good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time, the Peers repaired to the court in Westminster-Hall, where Lord Cowper presided as Lord Steward. The Commons were assembled as a committee of the

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whole Houſe: the King, the reſt of the royal family, and the foreign miniſters, aſſiſted at the ſolemnity: the Earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower: the articles of impeachment were read, with his anſwers, and the replication of the Commons. Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſtanding up to make good the firſt article, Lord Harcourt ſignified to their Lordſhips that he had a motion to make and they adjourned to their own Houſe. There he repreſented, that a great deal of time would be unneceſſarily conſumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment: that if the Commons would make good the two articles for high-treaſon, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and eſtate, and there would be an end of the matter: whereas, to proceed on the method propoſed by the Commons would draw the trial on to a prodigious length. He, therefore, moved that the Commons might not be permitted to proceed, until judgement ſhould be firſt given upon the articles of high-treaſon. He was ſupported by the Earls of Angleſey and Nottingham, the Lord Trevor, and a conſiderable number of both parties; and though oppoſed by the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Coningſby and Parker, the motion was carried in the affirmative. It produced a diſpute between the two Houſes. The Commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reaſons for aſſerting it as their undoubted right to impeach a Peer either for treaſon or for high crimes and miſdemeanors; or, ſhould they ſee occaſion, to mix both in the ſame accuſation. The Houſe of Lords inſiſted on their former reſolution; and in another conference delivered a paper, wherein they aſſerted it to be a right inherent in every Court of Juſtice to order and direct ſuch methods of proceeding as it ſhould think fit to be obſerved in all cauſes that fall under its cognizance. The Commons demanded a free conference, which was refuſed. The diſpute grew more and more warm. The Lords ſent a meſſage to the Lower Houſe,

House, importing, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the Earl of Oxford. The Commons paid no regard to this intimation; but adjourned to the third day of July. The Lords, repairing to Westminster-Hall, took their places, ordered the Earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own House, where, after some debate, the Earl was acquitted upon a division: then returning to the hall they voted, That he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissentions among the Ministers, and to the late change in the administration. In consequence of this, he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole; and numbered among his friends the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyle, the Earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and Lord Townshend. The Commons, in order to express their sense of his demerit, presented an Address to the King, desiring he might be excepted out of the intended Act of Grace. The King promised to comply with their request; and in the mean time forbade the Earl to appear at Court. On the fifteenth day of July the Earl of Sunderland delivered in the House of Peers the Act of Grace, which passed through both Houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore; Crisp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmarne the printer, and Thompson; as also the assassinators in Newgate, and the clan of Macgregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the Earl of Carnwath, the Lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged; together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom. The Act of Grace being prepared for the royal assent, the King went to the House of Peers on the fifteenth day of

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July, and having given his ſanction to all the bills that were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the uſual topicks.

§ XLIII. The proceedings in the Convocation turned chiefly upon two performances of Dr. Hoadley, biſhop of Bangor. One was intituled, "A "Preſervative againſt the Principles and Practices "of the Nonjurors:" the other was a ſermon preached before the King, under the title of, "The "nature of the kingdom of Chriſt." An anſwer to this diſcourſe was publiſhed by Dr. Snape, maſter of Eton college, and the Convocation appointed a committee to examine the biſhop's two performances. They drew up a repreſentation, in which the Preſervative and the Sermon were cenſured, as tending to ſubvert all government and diſcipline in the church of Chriſt; to reduce his kingdom to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion; to impugn and impeach the royal ſupremacy in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, and the authority of the legiſlature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil ſanctions. The Government thought proper to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings by a prorogation; which, however, inflamed the controverſy. A great number of pens were drawn againſt the biſhop but his chief antagoniſts were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the King removed from the office of his chaplains: and the Convocation has not been permitted to ſit and do buſineſs ſince that period.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

§ I. *Difference between King George and the Czar of Muſcovy.* § II. *The King of Sweden is killed at Frederickſtadt.* § III. *Negotiation for the quadruple alliance.* § IV. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § V. *James Shepherd executed for a deſign againſt the King's life. Parliament prorogued.* § VI. *Nature of the quadruple alliance.* § VII. *Admiral Byng ſails to the Mediterranean.* § VIII. *He deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet off Cape Paſſaro.* § IX. *Remonſtrances of the Spaniſh Miniſtry.* § X. *Diſputes in Parliament touching the Admiral's attacking the Spaniſh fleet.* § XI. *Act for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt.* § XII. *War declared againſt Spain.* § XIII. *Conſpiracy againſt the Regent of France.* § XIV. *Intended invaſion by the Duke of Ormond.* § XV. *Three hundred Spaniards land and are taken in Scotland.* § XVI. *Account of the Peerage bill.* § XVII. *Count Merci aſſumes the command of the Imperial army in Sicily.* § XVIII. *Activity of Admiral Byng.* § XIX. *The Spaniſh troops evacuate Sicily.* § XX. *Philip obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance.* § XXI. *Bill for ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.* § XXII. *South-ſea act.* § XXIII. *Charters granted to the Royal and London aſſurance offices.* § XXIV. *Treaty of Alliance with Sweden.* § XXV. *The Prince of Heſſe elected King of Sweden.* § XXVI. *Effects of the South-Sea ſcheme.* § XXVII. *The bubble breaks.* § XXVIII. *A ſecret committee appointed by the Houſe of Commons.* § XXIX. *Enquiry carried on by both Houſes.* § XXX. *Death of Earl Stanhope and Mr. Craggs, both Secretaries of State.* § XXXI. *The Eſtates of the Directors of the South Sea Company are confiſcated.* § XXXII. *Proceedings of the Commons with reſpect to the ſtock of the South-Sea Company.*

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§ I. DURING theſe tranſactions, the negociations of the North were continued againſt the King of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and advanced towards Chriſtianſtadt, the capital of that kingdom. The Czar had ſent five-and-twenty thouſand Ruſſians to aſſiſt the Allies in the reduction of Wiſmar, which he intended to beſtow upon his niece, lately married to the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin: but, before his troops arrived, the place had ſurrendered, and the Ruſſians were not admitted into the garriſon; a circumſtance which increaſed the miſunderſtanding between him and the King of Great-Britain. Nevertheleſs, he conſented to a project for making a deſcent upon Schonen, and actually took upon him the command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleaſed to ſee Sir John Norris in the Baltick, becauſe he had formed deſigns againſt Denmark, which he knew the Engliſh ſquadron would protect. He ſuddenly deſiſted from the expedition againſt Schonen, on pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced; and the King of Denmark publiſhed a manifeſto, remonſtrating againſt his conduct on this occaſion. By this time Baron Gortz had planned a pacification between his Maſter and the Czar, who was diſcontented with all his German allies, becauſe they oppoſed his having any footing in the Empire. This monarch arrived at Amſterdam in December, whither he was followed by the Czarina; and he actually reſided at the Hague when King George paſſed through it, in returning to his Britiſh dominions: but he declined an interview with the King of England. When Gyllenburgh's letters were publiſhed in London, ſome paſſages ſeemed to favour the ſuppoſition of the Czar's being privy to the conſpiracy. His miniſter at the Engliſh court preſented a long memorial, complaining that the King had cauſed to be printed the malicious inſinuations of his enemies. He denied his having

having the leaſt concern in the deſign of the Swediſh King. He charged the Court of England with having privately treated of a ſeparate peace with Charles, and even with having promiſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Czar, on condition that he would relinquiſh his pretenſions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheleſs, he expreſſed an inclination to re-eſtabliſh the ancient good underſtanding, and to engage in vigorous meaſures for proſecuting the war againſt the common enemy. The memorial was anſwered by the King of Great-Britain, who aſſured the Czar he ſhould have reaſon to be fully ſatisfied, if he would remove the only obſtacle to their mutual good underſtanding; in other words, withdraw the Ruſſian troops from the Empire. Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled. CHAP. II. 1717.

§ II. The Czar made an excurſion to the Court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendſhip with the Regent, at whoſe earneſt deſire he promiſed to recall his troops from Mecklenburgh. At his return to Amſterdam, he had a private interview with Gortz, who, as well as Gyllenburgh, had been ſet at liberty. Gortz undertook to adjuſt all difference between the Czar and the King of Sweden within three months; and Peter engaged to ſuſpend all operations againſt Sweden, until that term ſhould be expired. A congreſs was opened at Abo, between the Swediſh and Ruſſian miniſters; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Aland. By this convention, the Czar obliged himſelf to aſſiſt Charles in the conqueſt of Norway; and they promiſed to unite all their forces againſt the King of Great Britain, ſhould he preſume to interpoſe. Both were incenſed againſt that Prince; and one part of their deſign was to raiſe the Pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gortz ſet out from Aland for Frederickſtadt in Norway, with the plan of peace: but,

BOOK II. 1717. but, before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he viſited the trenches, on the thirtieth of November. Baron Gortz was immediately arreſted, and brought to the ſcaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whoſe hatred he had incurred by his inſolence of behaviour. The death of Charles was fortunate for King George. Sweden was now obliged to ſubmit; while the Czar, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Hanover, kept poſſeſſion of what they had acquired in the courſe of the war.

§ III. Thus Bremen and Verden were ſecured to the Houſe of Hanover: an acquiſition towards which the Engliſh nation contributed by her money, as well as by her arms: an acquiſition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when King William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl: an acquiſition that may be conſidered as the firſt link of a political chain by which the Engliſh nation was dragged back into expenſive connexions with the continent. The King had not yet received the inveſtiture of the dutchies; and, until that ſhould be procured, it was neceſſary to eſpouſe with warmth the intereſt of the Emperor. This was another ſource of miſunderſtanding between Great-Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained another complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was ſurrendered to him after the battle. The Emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked, and driven from the Morea. The Pope conſidered it as a religious war againſt the Infidels; and obtained repeated aſſurances from the King of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing againſt the Emperor, while he was engaged in ſuch a laudable quarrel. Philip had even ſent a ſquadron of ſhips and gallies to the aſſiſtance of the Venetians. In the courſe of this year,

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year, however, he equipped a ſtrong armament, the command of which he beſtowed on the Marquis de Lede, who ſailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the Emperor, made a conqueſt of the whole iſland. At the ſame time, the King of Spain endeavoured to juſtify theſe proceedings by a manifeſto, in which he alledged that the Archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and ſupported the rebellion of his ſubjects in Catalonia, by frequent ſuccours from Naples, and other places; and that the Great Inquiſitor of Spain had been ſeized, though furniſhed with a paſſport from his Holineſs. He promiſed, however, to proceed no further, and ſuſpend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and ſecuring the peace and balance of power in Italy: nay, he conſented that this important affair ſhould be left to the arbitration of King George and the States-General. Theſe powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the miniſters of the Emperor, France, England, and Holland; and theſe produced, in the courſe of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, that the Emperor ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicly, with the Duke of Savoy; that the ſucceſſion to the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, which the Queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as Princeſs of the Houſe of Farneſe, ſhould be ſettled on her eldeſt ſon, in caſe the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould die without male iſſue. Philip, diſſatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by ſea and land. The King of England and the Regent of France interpoſed their admonitions to no purpoſe. At length his Britannick Majeſty had recourſe to more ſubſtantial arguments, and ordered a ſtrong

BOOK II. a ſtrong ſquadron to be equipped with all poſſible expedition*.

1717. § IV. On the third day of November, the Princeſs of Wales was delivered of a Prince, the ceremony of whoſe baptiſm was productive of a difference between the grandfather and the father. The Prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the Duke of York, ſhould ſtand godfather. The King ordered the Duke of Newcaſtle to ſtand for himſelf. After the ceremony, the Prince expreſſed his reſentment againſt this nobleman in very warm terms. The King ordered the Prince to confine himſelf within his own apartments; and afterwards ſignified his pleaſure that he ſhould quit the palace of St. James. He retired with the Princeſs to a houſe belonging to the Earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. All Peers, and Peereſſes, and all Privy-counſellors and their wives, were given to underſtand, that in caſe thay viſited the Prince and Princeſſes, they ſhould have no acceſs to his Majeſty's preſence; and all who enjoyed poſts and places under both King and Prince were obliged to quit the ſervice of one or other, at their option. When the Parliament met on the twenty-firſt day of November, the King, in his ſpeech, told both Houſes that

* The Pretender, who reſided at Urbino, having received intelligence from Paris, that there was a deſign formed againſt his life, Pope Clement XI. gave directions that all foreigners in that neighbourhood, eſpecially Engliſh, ſhould be arreſted. The Earl of Peterborough arriving at Bologna, with a few armed followers, was ſeized, with all his papers. Being interrogated, he ſaid he came to paſs ſome time in Italy, for the benefit of the air. He was cloſe confined for a whole month in Fort Urbino, and his attendants were ſent to priſon. Nothing appearing to juſtify the ſuſpicion, he was diſmiſſed with uncommon civility. The King demanding reparation for this inſult, the Pope wrote with his own hand a letter to an ally of Great Britain, declaring that the Legate of Bologna had violently and unjuſtly, without the knowledge of his Holineſs, cauſed the Earl of Peterborough to be ſeized upon ſuſpicions which proved to be ill-grounded. The Cardinal Legate ſent a declaration to the Engliſh admiral in the Mediterranean, that he had aſked forgiveneſs of his Holineſs, and now begged pardon of his Britannick Majeſty, for having unadviſedly arreſted a Peer of Great Britain on his travels.

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he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion: he expreſſed his deſire that all thoſe who were friends to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt, of which, as the Church of England was unqueſtionable the main ſupport and bulwark, ſo would ſhe reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all Proteſtants. After the addreſſes of thanks, which were couched in the uſual ſtyle, the Commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, in order to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thouſand men were voted for the ſea-ſervice. When the ſupply for the army fell under deliberation, a very warm debate enſued, upon the number of troops neceſſary to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, in a long elaborate harangue, inſiſted upon its being reduced to twelve thouſand. They were anſwered by Mr. Craggs, ſecretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr. Shippen in the courſe of the debate, ſaid the ſecond paragraph of the King's ſpeech ſeemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great-Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the King was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a ſcandalous invective againſt the King's perſon and government; and moved that he who uttered it ſhould be ſent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen, refuſing to retract or excuſe what he had ſaid, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of ſtanding forces was fixed at ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven effective men. CHAP. I. 1717.

§ V. On account of the great ſcarcity of ſilver coin, occaſioned by the exportation of ſilver, and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a ſtop to this growing evil, by lowering the value of gold

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gold ſpecie. The Commons examined a repreſentation which had been made to the Treaſury by Sir Iſaac Newton, maſter of the mint, on this ſubject. Mr. Caſwel explained the nature of a clandeſtine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburghers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the ſilver coin and importing gold, which being coined at the mint, yielded a profit of fifteen pence upon every guinea. The Houſe, in an addreſs to the King, deſired that a proclamation might be iſſued, forbidding all perſons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one-and-twenty ſhillings each. His Majeſty complied with their requeſt: but people hoarding up their ſilver, in hopes that the price of it would be raiſed, or in apprehenſion that the gold would be lowered ſtill farther, the two Houſes reſolved that the ſtandard of the gold and ſilver coins of the kingdom ſhould not be altered in fineneſs, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in, to prevent the melting down of the ſilver coin. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coachmaker, and an enthuſiaſt in Jacobitiſm, ſent a letter to a nonjuring clergyman, propoſing a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating King George. He was immediately apprehended, owned the deſign, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. This was likewiſe the fate of the Marquis de Palleotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the Ducheſs of Shrewſbury. He had, in a tranſport, of paſſion, killed his own ſervant; and ſeemed indeed to be diſordered in his brain. After he had received ſentence of death, the King's pardon was earneſtly ſolicited by his ſiſter, the Ducheſs, and many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction: but the common people became ſo clamorous, that it was thought dangerous to reſcue him from the penalties of the law, which he accordingly underwent in the moſt ignominious manner. No ſubject produced ſo much

much heat and altercation in Parliament during this seſſion, as did the bill for regulating the land forces, and puniſhing mutiny and deſertion: a bill which was looked upon as an encroachment upon the liberties and conſtitution of England, inaſmuch as it eſtabliſhed martial law, which wreſted from the civil magiſtrate the cognizance of crimes and miſdemeanours committed by the ſoldiers and officers of the army: a juriſdiction inconſiſtent with the genius and diſpoſition of the people. The dangers that might accrue from ſuch a power were explained in the Lower Houſe by Mr. Hutchinſon, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which laſt, however, voted afterwards for the bill. In the Houſe of Lords, it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Earls of Oxford, Strafford, and Lord Harcourt. Their objections were anſwered by Lord Carteret. The bill paſſed by a great majority; but divers Lords entered a proteſt. This affair being diſcuſſed, a bill was brought in for veſting in truſtees the forfeited eſtates in Britain and Ireland, to be ſold for the uſe of the Publick; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining the claims, and for the more effectual bringing into the reſpective Exchequers the rents and profits of the eſtates till ſold. The time of claiming was prolonged: the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds was reſerved out of the ſale of the eſtates in Scotland, for erecting ſchools; and eight thouſand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom. The King having ſignified, by a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, that he had lately received ſuch information from abroad, as gave reaſon to believe that a naval force, employed where it ſhould be neceſſary, would give weight to his endeavours; he, therefore, thought fit to acquaint the Houſe with this circumſtance, not doubting but that in caſe he ſhould be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the ſea-ſervice, the Houſe would provide for ſuch

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Oldmixon. Annals. Lamberty. Burchet. Hiſt. Reg. Tindal. St. Trials. Parliament. Bolingbr Lives of the Admirals.

BOOK II. 1717. exceeding. The Commons immediately drew up and preſented an addreſs, aſſuring his Majeſty that they would make good ſuch exceedings of ſeamen as he ſhould find neceſſary to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe. On the twenty-firſt day of March, the King went to the Houſe of Peers, and having paſſed the bills that were ready for the royal aſſent, ordered the Parliament to be prorogued *.

An. 1718. § VI. The King of Spain, by the care and indefatigable diligence of his prime miniſter, Cardinal Alberoni, equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, ſet ſail from Barcelona towards Italy; but the deſtination of it was not known. A ſtrong ſquadron having been fitted out in England, the Marquis de Monteleone, ambaſſador from Spain, preſented a memorial to the Britiſh miniſtry, importing that ſo powerful an armament in time of peace could not but give umbrage to the King his maſter, and alter the good intelligence that ſubſiſted between the two Crowns. In anſwer to this repreſentation, the miniſters declared that the King intended to ſend Admiral Byng with a powerful ſquadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the neutrality in Italy. Meanwhile, the negociations between the Engliſh and French miniſters produced the quadruple alliance, by which King George and the Regent preſcribed a peace between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of Sicily, and undertook to compel Philip and the Savoyard to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, as they had concerted with his Imperial Majeſty. Theſe powers were allowed only three months to conſider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or acquieſce in the partition. Nothing could

* Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor, reſigned the great ſeal, which was at firſt put in commiſſion, but afterwards given to Lord Parker, as High Chancellor. The Earl of Sunderland was made Preſident of the Council, and Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed Secretaries of State, Lord Stanhope and Lord Cadogan were afterwards created Earls.

be more contradictory to the true intereſt of Great-Britain than this treaty, which deſtroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing ſuch an acceſſion of power into the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. It interrupted the commerce with Spain; involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy; and gave riſe to all the quarrels and diſputes which have ariſen between England and Spain in the ſequel. The States-General did not approve of ſuch violent meaſures, and for ſome time kept aloof: but at length they acceded to the quadruple alliance, which indeed was no other than a very expenſive compliment to the Emperor, who was deſirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ VII. The King of England had uſed ſome endeavours to compromiſe the difference between his Imperial Majeſty and the Spaniſh branch of the Houſe of Bourbon. Lord Stanhope had been ſent to Madrid, with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip, as partial and iniquitous, the King determined to ſupport his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng ſailed from Spithead on the fourth day of June, with twenty ſhips of the line, two fire ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, and ample inſtructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, and diſpatched his ſecretary to Cadiz, with a letter to Colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, deſiring him to inform his Moſt Catholick Majeſty of the admiral's arrival in thoſe parts, and lay before him this article of his inſtructions: "You "are to make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe "from uſing any further acts of hoſtility: but in "caſe the Spaniards do ſtill inſiſt, with their ſhips "of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of "Naples, or other the territories of the Emperor in "Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can "only be with a deſign to invade the Emperor's dominions, againſt whom only they have declared

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" war by invading Sardinia; or, if they ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſter of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples; in which caſe you are, with all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. If it ſhould ſo happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards ſhould already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the Emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hoſtility. But in caſe theſe your friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoy; or if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the Emperor's territories from any further attempt." When Cardinal Alberoni peruſed theſe inſtructions, he told Colonel Stanhope, with ſome warmth, that his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms. He ſaid the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was ſo well convinced that the fleet would do their duty, that in caſe of their being attacked by Admiral Byng, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs. Mr. Stanhope preſenting him with a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, he threw it upon the ground with great emotion. He promiſed, however, to lay the admiral's letter before the King, and to let the envoy know his Majeſty's reſolution. Such an interpoſition could not but be very provoking to the Spaniſh miniſter, who had laid his account with the conqueſt of Sicily, and for that purpoſe prepared an armament which was altogether ſurpriſing, conſidering the late ſhattered condition of the Spaniſh affairs. But he ſeems to have put too much confidence in the

the ſtrength of the Spaniſh fleet. In a few days he ſent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the Chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the King his maſter. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ VIII. The Admiral, in paſſing by Gibraltar, was joined by Vice Admiral Cornwall, with two ſhips. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garriſon of Port Mahon. Then he ſailed for Naples, where he arrived on the firſt day of Auguſt, and was received as a deliverer: for the Neapolitans had been under the utmoſt terror of an invaſion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the Viceroy, Count Daun, who treated him with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of reſpect, that the Spaniſh army, amounting to thirty thouſand men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Meſſina, and were then employed in the ſiege of the citadel belonging to this laſt city: that the Piedmonteſe garriſon would be obliged to ſurrender, if not ſpeedily relieved: that an alliance was upon the carpet between the Emperor and the King of Sicily, which laſt had deſired the aſſiſtance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Meſſina. The Admiral immediately reſolved to ſail thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of two thouſand Germans for the citadel, under the command of General Wetzel. He forthwith ſailed from Naples, and on the ninth day of Auguſt was in ſight of the Faro of Meſſina. He diſpatched his own Captain with a polite meſſage to the Marquis de Lede, propoſing a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert meaſures for reſtoring a laſting peace; and declaring, that ſhould this propoſal be rejected, he would, in purſuance of his inſtructions, uſe all his force to prevent further attempts to diſturb the dominions his maſter had engaged to defend. The

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Spaniſh general anſwered, that he had no powers to treat, and conſequently could not agree to an armiſtice, but ſhould obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his maſter the King of Spain. The Spaniſh fleet had ſailed from the harbour of Meſſina on the day before the Engliſh ſquadron appeared. Admiral Byng ſuppoſed they had retired to Malta, and directed his courſe towards Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel. But, in doubling the point of Faro, he deſcried two Spaniſh ſcouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian ſhore, that they had ſeen from the hills the Spaniſh fleet lying to in order of battle. The Admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ſhips of war. Then he ſtood through the Faro after the Spaniſh ſcouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he deſcried in line of battle, amounting to ſeven-and-twenty ſail large and ſmall, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, and ſeven gallies. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Caſtanita, under whom were the four Rear-Admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, and Byng gave chaſe all the reſt of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of Auguſt, Rear-Admiral de Mari, with ſix ſhips of war, the gallies, fire-ſhips and bomb-ketches ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore. The Engliſh Admiral detached Captain Walton with five ſhips in purſuit of them; and they were ſoon engaged. He himſelf continued to chaſe their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards ſeemed to be diſtracted in their councils, and acted in confuſion. They made a running fight: yet the Admirals behaved with courage and activity, in ſpite of which they were all taken, except Cammock, who made his eſcape with three ſhips of war and three frigates. In this engagement,

gagement, which happened off Cape Paſſaro, Captain Haddock, of the Grafton, ſignalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the eighteenth the Admiral received a letter from Captain Walton, dated off Syracuſe, intimating that he had taken four Spaniſh ſhips of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a veſſel laden with arms: and that he had burned four ſhips of the line, a fire ſhip, and a bomb veſſel*. Had the Spaniards followed the advice of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained ſuch an eaſy victory. That officer propoſed that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of Paradiſe, with their broadſides to the ſea; in which caſe the Engliſh Admiral would have found it a very difficult taſk to attack them: for the coaſt is ſo bold, that the largeſt ſhips could ride with a cable aſhore; whereas farther out the currents are ſo various and rapid, that the Engliſh ſquadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in order of battle: beſides the Spaniards might have been re-inforced from the army on ſhore, which would have raiſed batteries to annoy the aſſailants. Before King George had received an account of this engagement from the Admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldeſt ſon arrived in England, with a circumſtantial account of the action, he was graciouſly received, and ſent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negociate with the ſeveral princes and ſtates of Italy, as he ſhould ſee occaſion. The ſon likewiſe carried the King's royal grant to the officers and ſeamen, of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding this victory, the Spaniſh army carried

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* This letter is juſtly deemed a curious ſpecimen of the laconic ſtyle.

"Sir,

"We have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels "which were upon the coaſt; the number as per margin. I am, &c.

"G. WALTON."

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on the ſiege of the citadel of Meſſina with ſuch vigour, that the governor ſurrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conqueſt of Sardinia in behalf of the Duke; and in the mean time this Prince engaged to evacuate Sicily; but until his troops could be conveyed from that iſland, he conſented that they ſhould co-operate with the Germans againſt the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to aſſiſt the Imperialiſts in Sicily during the beſt part of the winter, by ſcouring the ſeas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian ſhore, from whence they were ſupplied with proviſions. He acted in this ſervice with equal conduct, reſolution, and activity. He conferred with the Viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial generals about the operations of the enſuing campaign, and Count Hamilton was diſpatched to Vienna, to lay before the Emperor the reſult of their deliberations: then the Admiral ſet ſail for Mahon, where the ſhips might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the ſea in the ſpring.

§ IX. The deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet was a ſubject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed againſt the conduct of England, as inconſiſtent with the rules of good faith, for the obſervation of which ſhe had always been ſo famous. The Marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, in which he expoſtulated with him upon ſuch an unprecedented outrage. Cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that miniſter, inveighed againſt it as a baſe unworthy action. He ſaid the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, ſince every body knew that neutrality had long been at an end; and that the Prince's guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht were entirely diſcharged from their engagements, not only by the

the ſcandalous infringements committed by the Auſtrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but alſo becauſe the guarantee was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France. He taxed the Britiſh Miniſtry with having revived and ſupported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abuſing the confidence and ſecurity of the Spaniards. This was the language of diſappointed ambition. Nevertheleſs it muſt be owned, that the conduct of England, on this occaſion, was irregular, partial, and precipitate. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ X. The Parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the King in his ſpeech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable propoſals, and broke through their moſt ſolemn engagements, for the ſecurity of the Britiſh commerce. To vindicate, therefore, the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain thoſe he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his ſubjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjuſtly oppreſſed, it became neceſſary for his naval forces to check their progreſs: that notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of his arms, that Court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the Weſt-Indies to fit out privateers againſt the Engliſh. He ſaid he was perſuaded, that a Britiſh Parliament would enable him to reſent ſuch treatment; and he aſſured them that his good brother, the Regent of France, was ready to concur with him in the moſt vigorous meaſures. A ſtrong oppoſition was made in both Houſes to the motion for an addreſs of thanks and congratulation propoſed by Lord Carteret. Several Peers obſerved, that ſuch an addreſs was, in effect, to approve a ſea-fight which might be attended with dangerous conſequences, and to give the ſanction of that auguſt aſſembly to meaſures which, upon examination, might appear either to claſh with the law of nations,

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or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmoſt caution and matureſt deliberation, in an affair wherein the honour, as well as the intereſt of the nation, were ſo highly concerned. Lord Straſford moved for an addreſs, that Sir George Byng's inſtructions might be laid before the Houſe. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occaſion for ſuch an addreſs, ſince by his Majeſty's command he had already laid before the Houſe the treaties, of which the late ſea-fight was a conſequence: particularly the treaty for a defenſive alliance between the Emperor and his Majeſty, concluded at Weſtminſter on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen; and the treaty of alliance for reſtoring and ſettling the publick peace, ſigned at London on the twenty-ſecond day of July. He affirmed, that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted againſt the publick faith, in attacking the Emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war againſt the enemies of Chriſtendom: that they had rejected his Majeſty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cauſe of his own journey to Spain, and his negociations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and ſecure the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects which had been violently oppreſſed by the Spaniards. After a long debate, the motion was carried by a conſiderable majority. The ſame ſubject excited diſputes of the ſame nature in the Houſe of Commons, where Lord Finchingbroke moved that, in their addreſs of thanks, they ſhould declare their entire ſatisfaction in thoſe meaſures which the King had already taken for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and eſtabliſhing a laſting tranquillity in Europe. The members in the oppoſition urged, that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the firſt day of

of the seſſion, to enter upon particulars: that the buſineſs in queſtion was of the higheſt importance, and deſerved the moſt mature deliberation: that, before they approved the meaſures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reaſons on which thoſe meaſures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving ſanction, in the manner propoſed, to the late meaſures, could have no other view than that of ſcreening miniſters, who were conſcious of having begun a war againſt Spain, and now wanted to make it the Parliament's war. He obſerved, that inſtead of an entire ſatisfaction, they ought to expreſs their entire diſſatisfaction with ſuch conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the moſt ſolemn treaties. Mr Secretary Craggs, in a long ſpeech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and juſtified all the meaſures which had been taken. The addreſs, as moved by Lord Hinchinbroke, was at length carried, and preſented to his Majeſty. Then the Commons proceeded to conſider the ſupply. They voted thirteen thouſand five hundred ſailors; and twelve thouſand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land ſervice. The whole eſtimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand five hundred eighty-one pounds, nineteen ſhillings. The money was raiſed by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery.

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§ XI. On the thirteenth day of December, Earl Stanhope declared, in the Houſe of Lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well-affected to the preſent eſtabliſhment, he had a bill to offer under the title of "An act for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt in theſe kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts againſt occaſional conformity, the growth of ſchiſm, and ſome clauſes in the Corporation and Teſt acts. This had been concerted by the miniſtry, in private meetings with the moſt eminent Diſſenters.

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Diſſenters. The Tory Lords were aſtoniſhed at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheleſs, they were ſtrenuous in their oppoſition. They alledged that the bill, inſtead of ſtrengthening, would certainly weaken the Church of England, by plucking off her beſt feathers, inveſting her enemies with power, and ſharing with Churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly poſſeſſed. Earl Cowper declared himſelf againſt that part of the bill by which ſome clauſes of the Teſt and Corporation acts were repealed: becauſe he looked upon thoſe Acts as the main bulwark of our excellent conſtitution in Church and State, which ought to be inviolably preſerved. The Earl of Ilay oppoſed the bill, becauſe, in his opinion, it infringed the *pacta conventa* of the treaty of Union, by which the bounds both of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland were fixed and ſettled; and he was apprehenſive, if the articles of the Union were broke with reſpect to one Church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with reſpect to the other. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſaid the acts which by this bill would be repealed were the main bulwark and ſupporters of the Engliſh Church: he expreſſed all imaginable tenderneſs for well-meaning conſcientious Diſſenters: but he could not forbear ſaying, ſome among that ſect made a wrong uſe of the favour and indulgence ſhown to them at the Revolution, though they had the leaſt ſhare in that happy event: it was, therefore, thought neceſſary for the legiſlature to interpoſe, and put a ſtop to the ſcandalous practice of occaſional conformity. He added, that it would be needleſs to repeal the act againſt ſchiſm, ſince no advantage had been taken of it to the prejudice of the Diſſenters. Dr. Hoadley, Biſhop of Bangor, endeavoured to prove, that the occaſional and ſchiſm acts were in effect perſecuting laws; and that by admitting the principle of ſelf-

ſelf-defence and ſelf-preſervation, in matters of religion, all the perſecutions maintained, by the heathens againſt the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, and even the Popiſh Inquiſition, might be juſtified. With reſpect to the power of which many clergymen appeared ſo fond and ſo zealous; he owned the deſire of power and riches was natural to all men; but that he had learned both from reaſon and from the goſpel, that this deſire muſt be kept within due bounds, and not entrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen. After a long debate, the Houſe agreed to leave out ſome clauſes concerning the Teſt and Corporation acts: then the bill was committed, and afterwards paſſed. In the Lower Houſe it met with violent oppoſition, in ſpite of which it was carried by the majority.

§ XII. The King on the ſeventeenth day of December, ſent a meſſage to the Commons, importing, that all his endeavours to procure redreſs for the injuries done to his ſubjects by the King of Spain having proved ineffectual, he had found it neceſſary to declare war againſt that monarch. When a motion was made for an addreſs, to aſſure the King they would cheerfully ſupport him in the proſecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and ſome other members ſaid, they did not ſee the neceſſity of involving the nation in a war, on account of ſome grievances of which the merchants complained, as theſe might be amicably redreſſed. Mr. Stanhope aſſured the Houſe, that he had preſented five-and-twenty memorials to the miniſtry of Spain on that ſubject, without ſucceſs. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceeding of the Spaniſh court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the ſeveral provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was ſuggeſted, that the miniſtry paid very little regard to the trade and intereſt of the nation; inaſmuch as it appeared by the anſwer from a Secretary of State to the leter of the Marquis de Monteleone,

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Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions ſtipulated in the quadruple alliance; for it was there expreſsly ſaid, that his Majeſty, the King of Great Britain, did not ſeek to aggrandize himſelf by any new acquiſitions, but was rather inclined to ſacrifice ſomething of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe. A member obſerved, that nobody could tell how far that ſacrifice would have extended; but certainly it was a very uncommon ſtretch of condeſcenſion. This ſacrifice was ſaid to be the ceſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which the Regent of France had offered to the King of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horatio Walpole obſerved, that the diſpoſition of Sicily in favour of the Emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of attacking the Spaniſh fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithſtanding all theſe arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the addreſs; and ſuch another was carried in the Upper Houſe without a diviſion. The declaration of war againſt Spain was publiſhed with the uſual ſolemnities; but this war was not a favourite of the people, and therefore did not produce thoſe acclamations that were uſual on ſuch occaſions.

§ XIII. Meanwhile Cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and induſtry, for the gratification of his revenge. He cauſed new ſhips to be built, the ſea-ports to be put in a poſture of defence, ſuccours to be ſent to Sicily, and the proper meaſures to be taken for the ſecurity of Sardinia. He, by means of the Prince de Cellamare, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at Paris, caballed with the malcontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A ſcheme was actually formed for ſeizing the Regent, and ſecuring the perſon of the King. The Duke of Orleans owed the firſt intimation of this

this plot to King George, who gave him to understand, that a conſpiracy was formed againſt his perſon and government. The Regent immediately took meaſures for watching the conduct of all ſuſpected perſons; but the whole intrigue was diſcovered by accident. The Prince de Cellamare entruſted his diſpatches to the Abbé Portocarrero, and to a ſon of the Marquis de Monteleone. Theſe emiſſaries ſet out from Paris in a poſt-chaiſe, and were overturned. The poſtillion overheard Portocarrero ſay, he would not have loſt his portmanteau for a hundred thouſand piſtoles. The man, at his return to Paris, gave notice to the government of what he had obſerved. The Spaniards, being purſued, were overtaken and ſeized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the Regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conſpiracy. The Prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers; the Duke of Maine, the Marquis de Pompadour, the Cardinal de Polignac, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were committed to different priſons. The Regent declared war againſt Spain, on the twenty-ninth day of December; and an army of ſix-and-thirty thouſand men began its march towards that kingdom in January, under the command of the Duke of Berwick.

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§ XIV. Cardinal Alberoni had likewiſe formed a ſcheme in favour of the Pretender. The Duke of Ormond repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his Eminence; and meaſures were concerted for exciting another inſurrection in Great Britain. The Chevalier de St. George quitted Urbino by ſtealth; and embarking at Netteno, landed at Cagliari in March. From thence he took his paſſage to Roſes in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality, and treated as King of Great-Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ſhips of war and tranſports, having

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on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was bestowed on the Duke of Ormond, with the title of Captain-General of his Most Catholick Majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that King, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to King James. His Britannick Majesty, having received from the Regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamations, rewards to those that should apprehend the Duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north, and in the west of England: two thousand men were demanded of the States General: a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament; and the Duke of Orleans made a proffer to King George of twenty battalions for his service.

§ XV. His Majesty having communicated to both Houses of Parliament, the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support him against all his enemies. They desired he would augment his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expence. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The Duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, arrived in Scotland, with the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, some field-officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They were joined by a small body of Highlanders, and possessed themselves of Donan Castle. Against these adventurers General Wightman marched with a body of regular troops from Inverness.

Inverneſs. They had taken poſſeſſion of the paſs at Glenſhiel; but, at the approach of the King's forces, retired to the paſs at Strachell, which they reſolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the Highlanders diſperſed; and next day the Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Mariſchal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with ſome officers, retired to one of the weſtern iſles, in order to wait an opportunity of being conveyed to the continent.

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§ XVI. On the laſt day of February the Duke of Somerſet repreſented in the Houſe of Lords, that the number of Peers being very much increaſed, eſpecially ſince the union of the two kingdoms, it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to take effectual meaſures for preventing the inconveniencies that might attend the creation of a great number of Peers, to ſerve a preſent purpoſe: an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign. He therefore moved that a bill ſhould be brought in, to ſettle and limit the Peerage, in ſuch a manner, that the number of Engliſh Peers ſhould not be enlarged beyond ſix above the preſent number, which, upon failure of male iſſue, might be ſupplied by new creations: that inſtead of the ſixteen elective Peers from Scotland, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of the heirs-male, ſhould be ſupplied from the other members of the Scottiſh Peerage. This bill was intended as a reſtraint upon the Prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the preſent miniſtry. The motion was ſupported by the Duke of Argyle, now Lord-Steward of the Houſehold, the Earl of Sunderland and Carliſle. It was oppoſed by the Earl of Oxford, who ſaid, that although he expected nothing from the Crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off ſo valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the King to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned

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journed to the second day of March, when Earl Stanhope delivered a message from the King, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British Peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation, as might secure the freedom and constitution of Parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions. The question here as in almost every other dispute, was not, Whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, Whether the Tory or the Whig interest should predominate in Parliament? Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish Peerage, was a manifest violation of the treaty of Union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice, as it would deprive persons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence or forfeiture on their part. He observed, that the Scottish Peers excluded from the number of the twenty-five would be in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor represented. These objections were over-ruled: several resolutions were taken agreeably to the motion; and the Judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. This measure alarmed the generality of Scottish Peers, as well as many English Commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as an encroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Treatises were writ and published on both sides of the question: and a national clamour began to arise, when Earl Stanhope observed, in the House, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it advisable to postpone the further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was

Annals. Corbet. Tindal. Hist. Reg. Deb. in Parliament. Lives of the Admirals.

was accordingly dropped, and the Parliament prorogued on the eighteenth day of April, on which occaſion his Majeſty told both Houſes, that the Spaniſh King had acknowledged the Pretender. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ XVII. The King having appointed Lords-Juſtices to rule the kingdom in his abſence, embarked in May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica, the new Queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral Houſe of Brunſwick the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: King George obliged himſelf to pay a million of rix-dollars to the Queen of Sweden; and to renew, as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly ſubſiſting between his predeceſſors and that kingdom. He likewiſe mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes, the Pruſſians, and the Poles. The Czar, however, refuſed to give up his ſchemes of conqueſt. He ſent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batſes of Sweden, where his troops landing, to the number of fifteen thouſand, committed dreadful outrages: but Sir John Norris, who commanded an Engliſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, having orders to ſupport the negociations, and oppoſe any hoſtilities that might be committed, the Czar, dreading the fate of the Spaniſh navy, thought proper to recal his fleet. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Byng acted with unwearied vigour in aſſiſting the Imperialiſts to finiſh the conqueſt of Sicily. The court of Vienna had agreed to ſend a ſtrong body of forces to finiſh the reduction of that iſland; and the command in this expedition was beſtowed upon the Count de Merci, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples. This admiral ſupplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spaniſh prizes. He took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and ſaw them ſafely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of Ann. 1719.

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three thouſand five hundred horſe, and ten thouſand infantry. Count Merci thinking himſelf more than a match for the Spaniſh forces commanded by the Marquis de Lede, attacked him in a ſtrong camp at Franca-Villa; and was repulſed with the loſs of five thouſand men, himſelf being dangerouſly wounded in the action. Here his army muſt have periſhed for want of proviſion, had not they been ſupplied by the Engliſh navy.

§ XVIII. Admiral Byng no ſooner learned the bad ſucceſs of the attack at Franca-Villa, than he embarked two battalions from the garriſon of Melazzo, and about a thouſand recruits, whom he ſent under a convoy through the Baro to Scheſo-bay, in order to reinforce the Imperial army. He afterwards aſſiſted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in conſequence of his advice, undertook the ſiege of Meſſina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he propoſed to Count Gallas, the new viceroy, that the troops deſtined for the conqueſt of Sardinia ſhould be firſt landed in Sicily, and co-operate towards the conqueſt of that iſland. The propoſal was immediately diſpatched to the court of Vienna. In the mean time, the admiral returned to Sicily, and aſſiſted at the ſiege of Meſſina. The town ſurrendered: the garriſon retired into the citadel: and the remains of the Spaniſh navy, which had eſcaped at Paſſaro, were now deſtroyed in the Mole. The Emperor approved of the ſcheme propoſed by the Engliſh admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating that he had diſpatched orders to the governor of Milan, to detach the troops deſigned for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be tranſported into Italy. The admiral charged himſelf with the performance of this ſervice. Having furniſhed the Imperial army before Meſſina with another ſupply of cannon, powder, and ſhot, upon his own credit, he ſet ſail for Vado, where he ſurmounted numberleſs difficulties, ſtarted by the jea-

louſy of Count Bonneval, who was unwilling to ſee his troops, deſtined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, Admiral Byng ſaw the forces embarked, and convoyed them to Meſſina, the citadel of which ſurrendered in a few days after their arrival. By this time the Marquis de Lede had fortified a ſtrong poſt at Caſtro-Giovanne, in the centre of the iſland; and cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catenea. The Imperialiſts could not pretend to attack him in this ſituation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Meſſina, on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions. They would, therefore, have been obliged to quit the iſland during the winter, had not the admiral undertaken to tranſport them by ſea to Trapani, where they could extend themſelves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterpriſe; but even ſupplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harveſts of Sicily had been gathered into the Spaniſh magazines. It was the ſecond day of March before the laſt embarkation of the Imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

§ XIX. The Marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he ſent his mareſchal de camp to Count Merci and the Engliſh admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. The propoſals were not diſagreeable to the Germans; but Sir George Byng declared that the Spaniards ſhould not quit the iſland while the war continued, as he foreſaw that theſe troops would be employed againſt France or England. He agreed, however, with Count Merci, in propoſing, that if the Marquis would ſurrender Palermo, and retire into the middle part of the iſland, they would conſent to an armiſtice for ſix weeks, until the ſentiments of their different courts ſhould be known. The Marquis offered to ſurrender Palermo, in conſideration of a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months;

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but, while this negociation was depending, he received advice from Madrid, that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheleſs, he broke off the treaty, in obedience to a ſecret order for that purpoſe. The King of Spain hoped to obtain the reſtitution of St. Sebaſtian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the courſe of the war, in exchange for the evacuation of Sicily. Hoſtilities were continued until the admiral received advice from the Earl of Stair at Paris, that the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague had ſigned the quadruple alliance. By the ſame courier packets were delivered to the Count de Merci and the Marquis de Lede, which laſt gave the admiral and Imperial general to underſtand that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and was ready to treat for a ceſſation of hoſtilities. They inſiſted upon his delivering up Palermo; on the other hand, he urged, that as their maſters were in treaty, for ſettling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himſelf authoriſed to agree to a ceſſation, except on condition that each party ſhould remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their principals. After a fruitleſs interview between the three chiefs at the Caſſine de Roſſignola, the Imperial general reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth day of April, and followed the Marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took poſſeſſion of the advantageous poſts that commanded the paſſes into the plain of Palermo: but Count Merci, with indefatigable diligence, marched over the mountains, while the admiral coaſted along ſhore, attending the motions of the army. The Spaniſh general perceiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retired under the cannon of Palermo, and fortified his camp with ſtrong entrenchments. On the ſecond day of May the Germans took one of the enemy's redoubts by ſurpriſe, and the Marquis de

de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies were on the point of engaging when a courier arrived in a felucca, with a packet for the Marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the iſland, and the tranſportation of the army to Spain. He forthwith drew off his army; and ſent a trumpet to the general and admiral, with letters, informing them of the orders he had received, Commiſſioners were appointed on each ſide, the negociations begun, and the convention ſigned in a very few days. The Germans were put in poſſeſſion of Palermo, and the Spaniſh army marched to Tauromini, from whence they were tranſported to Barcelona. CHAP. II. 1719.

§ XX. The admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had ſeen the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual ceſſions executed between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, in conſequence of which, four battalions of Piedmonteſe troops were tranſported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took poſſeſſion of Cagliari in the name of their maſter. In a word, Admiral Byng bore ſuch a conſiderable ſhare in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the iſland depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct. When he waited on his Majeſty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The King told him he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the moſt honourable terms, with reſpect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing tranſports and other neceſſaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from oppreſſion. He was appointed Treaſurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of Great-Britain: in a little time the King enobled him, by the title of Viſcount Torrington: he was declared a privy-counſellor; and afterwards made Knight of the Bath, at

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the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the Duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort-Passage and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks: then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay. In this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The King of England with a view to indemnify himself for the expence of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South America. Four thousand men, commanded by Lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by Admiral Mighels. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty; and Pont-a-Vedra submitted without resistance: here they found some brass artillery, small arms, and military stores, with which they returned to England. In the mean time Captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeo, to the eastward of Cape Ortegas; so that the naval power of Spain was totally ruined. The expedition to the West Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification. He now perceived the madness of Alberoni's ambitious projects. That minister was personally disagreeable to the Emperor, the King of England, and the Regent of France, who had declared they would hearken to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish monarch, therefore, divested him of his employment; and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks. The Marquis de Beretti Landi, minister

nister from the court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the States: but it was rejected by the Allies; and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance. CHAP. II. 1719.

§ XXI. On the fourteenth day of November, King George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of Parliament with a speech, in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhorted the Commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation; and concluded with a panegyrick upon his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigour and deliberation in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both Houses were as warm as he could desire. They in particular extolled him for having interposed in behalf of the Protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the Popish Clergy, and presented to him memorials, containing a detail of their grievances. He and all the other Protestant powers warmly interceded in their favour; but the grievances were not redressed. The Peerage-bill was now revived by the Duke of Buckingham; and, in spite of all opposition, passed through the House of Lords. It had been projected by Earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the Earl of Sunderland; therefore, Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the House of Commons with extraordinary vehemence. Here too it was opposed by a considerable number of Whig members; and, after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Parliament was a bill for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the House of Peers in England, from a decree of the House of Peers in Ireland, which was reversed.

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The Britiſh Peers ordered the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Anneſley in poſſeſſion of the lands he had loſt by the decree in that kingdom. The Barons obeyed this order; and the Iriſh Houſe of Peers paſſed a vote againſt them, as having acted in derogation to the King's prerogative in his high court of Parliament in Ireland, as alſo of the rights and privileges of that Kingdom, and of the Parliament thereof: they, likewiſe, ordered them to be taken into cuſtody of the Uſher of the Black Rod; they tranſmitted a long repreſentation to the King, demonſtrating their right to the final judicature of cauſes: and the Duke of Leeds, in the Upper Houſe, urged fifteen reaſons to ſupport the claim of the Iriſh Peers. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the Houſe of Lords in England reſolved that the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in ſupport of his Majeſty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain. They addreſſed the King to confer on them ſome marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill uſage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Iriſh Houſe of Lords was deprived of all right to paſs ſentence, affirm, or reverſe any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. In the Houſe of Commons it was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, Lords Moleſworth and Tyrconnell; but was carried by the majority, and received the royal aſſent.

§ XXII. The King having recommended to the Commons the conſideration of proper means for leſſening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South-ſea act, which became productive of ſo much miſchief and infatuation. The ſcheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a ſcrivener, and was poſſeſſed of all the cunning, plauſibility, and boldneſs requiſite for ſuch an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aiſlabie, the

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as to one of the Secretaries of State. He anſwered all their objections; and the project was adopted. They foreſaw their own private advantage in the execution of the deſign, which was imparted in the name of the South-ſea Company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the ſcheme was to diſcharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The Bank and South-ſea Company, outbid each other. The South-ſea Company altered their original plan, and offered ſuch high terms to Government, that the propoſals of the Bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the Houſe of Commons, formed on the plan preſented by the South-ſea Company. While this affair was in agitation, the ſtock of that company roſe from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred, in conſequence of the conduct of the Commons, who had rejected a motion for a clauſe in the bill, to fix what ſhare in the capital ſtock of the company ſhould be veſted in thoſe proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily ſubſcribe; or how many years purchaſe in money they ſhould receive in ſubſcribing, at the choice of the proprietors. In the Houſe of Lords, the bill was oppoſed by Lord North and Grey, Earl Cowper, the Dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other Peers, they affirmed it was calculated for enriching a few and impoveriſhing a great number: that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of ſtock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and induſtry: that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vaſt ſums they had in the public funds; and they would be tempted to realiſe and withdraw their capital and immenſe gains to other countries; ſo that Great-Britain would be drained of its gold and ſilver; that the artificial and prodigious riſe of the South-ſea ſtock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy

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decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a falſe proſpect of gain to part with the fruits of their induſtry, to purchaſe imaginary riches: that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give ſuch power to the South-ſea Company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation; for by their extenſive intereſt they would be able to influence moſt, if not all the elections of the members; and conſequently over-rule the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all publick bargains the individuals in the adminiſtration ought to take care, that they ſhall be more advantageous to the ſtate than to private perſons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South-ſea Company; for, ſhould the ſtocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raiſed by the oblique arts of ſtock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the diſcharge of the national debts. He apprehended that the re-purchaſe of annuities would meet with inſuperable difficulties; and, in ſuch caſe, none but a few perſons who were in the ſecret, who had bought ſtocks at a low rate, and afterwards ſold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project. The Earl of Sunderland anſwered their objections. He declared that thoſe who countenanced the ſcheme of the South-ſea Company, had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation. He owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a proſpect of private gain, either to themſelves or to their corporation; but, he ſaid, when the ſcheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foreſee that the ſtocks would have riſen to ſuch a height: that if they had continued as they were, the publick would have had the far greater ſhare of the advantage accruing from the ſcheme; and ſhould they be kept up to the preſent high price,

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it was but reaſonable that the South-ſea Company ſhould enjoy the profits procured to it by the wiſe management and induſtry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accompliſh the purpoſe of the ſcheme. The bill paſſed without amendment or diviſion; and, on the ſeventh day of April, received the royal aſſent. By this act the South-ſea Company was authoriſed to take in, by purchaſe or ſubſcription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, ſtated at ſixteen millions five hundred forty-ſix thouſand four hundred eighty-two pounds, ſeven ſhillings, one penny farthing, at ſuch times as they ſhould find convenient before the firſt day of March of the enſuing year, and without any compulſion on any of the proprietors, at ſuch rates and prices as ſhould be agreed upon between the company and the reſpective proprietors. They were likewiſe authoriſed to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the ſame ſum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchaſe, by taking ſubſcriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increaſing their capital ſtock accordingly, the company conſented that their preſent, and to be increaſed annuity, ſhould be continued at five per cent. till Midſummer, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by Parliament. In conſideration of this and other advantages expreſſed in the act, the company declared themſelves willing to make ſuch payments into the receipt of the Exchequer as were ſpecified for the uſe of the publick, to be applied to the diſcharge of the publick debts incurred before Chriſtmas, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen. The ſums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half's purchaſe for all long and ſhort annuities that ſhould be ſubſcribed, and one year's purchaſe for ſuch long annuities

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nuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about ſeven millions. For enabling the company to raiſe this ſum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of ſubſcription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common ſeal, or on the credit of their capital ſtock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional ſtock, without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities, payable out of the publick duties. It was enacted, that out of the firſt monies ariſing from the ſums paid by the company into the Exchequer, ſuch publick debts, carrying intereſt at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen, founded upon any former act of Parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-two, ſhould be diſcharged in the firſt place: that then all the remainder ſhould be applied towards paying off ſo much of the capital ſtock of the company as ſhould then carry an intereſt of five per cent. It was likewiſe provided, that after Midſummer, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven, the company ſhould not be paid off in any ſums being leſs than one million at a time.

§ XXIII. The heads of the Royal-Aſſurance and London-Aſſurance companies, underſtanding that the civil-liſt was conſiderably in arrears, offered to the miniſtry ſix hundred thouſand pounds towards the diſcharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the King's charter, with a parliamentary ſanction, for the eſtabliſhment of their reſpective companies. The propoſal was embraced; and the King communicated it in a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, deſiring their concurrence. A bill was imme-

immediately paſſed, enabling his Majeſty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies. It ſoon obtained the royal aſſent: and, on the eleventh day of June, an end was put to the ſeſſion. This was the age of intereſted projects, inſpired by a venal ſpirit of adventure, the natural conſequence of that avarice, fraud, and profligacy, which the monied corporations had introduced. This of all others is the moſt unfavourable æra for an hiſtorian. A reader of ſentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or intereſted by a dry detail of ſuch tranſactions as admit of no warmth, no colouring, no embelliſhment, a detail which ſerves only to exhibit an inanimate picture of taſteleſs vice and mean degeneracy. CHAP. II. 1720.

§ XXIV. By this time an alliance offenſive and defenſive was concluded at Stockholm between King George and the Queen of Sweden, by which his Majeſty engaged to ſend a fleet into the Baltick, to act againſt the Czar of Muſcovy, in caſe that monarch ſhould reject reaſonable propoſals of peace. Peter loudly complained of the inſolent interpoſition of King George, alledging that he had failed in his engagements, both as elector of Hanover and King of Great-Britain. His reſident at London preſented a long memorial on this ſubject, which was anſwered by the Britiſh and Hanoverian miniſtry. Theſe recriminations ſerved only to enflame the difference. The Czar continued to proſecute the war; and at length concluded a peace without a mediator. At the inſtances, however, of King George and the Regent of France, a treaty of peace was ſigned between the Queen of Sweden and the King of Pruſſia, to whom that Princeſs ceded the city of Stetin, the diſtrict between the rivers Oder and Pehnne, with the iſles of Wollin and Uſedom. On the other hand, he engaged to join the King of Great Britain in his endeavours to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition that the Daniſh King ſhould reſtore

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restore to Queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania which he had seized: he likewise promised to pay to that Queen two millions of rixdollars, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Frederickstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the King of Great-Britain, who became guarantee for the Dane's keeping possession of Slesvick. He consented, however, to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, and whatever he had taken from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound, and the two Belts; and paying to Denmark six hundred thousand rixdollars.

§ XXV. Sir John Norris had again sailed to the Baltick with a strong squadron, to give weight to the King's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen he wrote a letter to Prince Dolgorouki, the Czar's ambassador at the court of Denmark, signifying that he and the King's envoy at Stockholm were vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, in the way of mediation. The Prince answered that the Czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and in case his Britannick Majesty had any proposals to make to that Prince, he hoped the admiral would excuse him from receiving them, as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way. The English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, and sister to Charles XII. had married the Prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. She wrote a separate letter to each of the Four States, desiring they would confer on him the sovereignty; and, after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually

actually elected King of Sweden. He sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the Czar, who congratulated him upon his accession to the throne: this was the beginning of a negociation which ended in peace, and established the tranquillity of the North. In the midst of these transactions, King George set out from England for his Hanoverian dominions; but, before he departed from Great-Britain, he was reconciled to the Prince of Wales, through the endeavours of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who, with Earl Cowper, Lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favour, and re-united with the ministry. The Earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of Dukes: Lord Viscount Castleton was made an Earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a Baron, and Viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop, Baron, and Viscount Lymington.

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§ XXVI. While the King was involved at Hanover in a labyrinth of negociations, the South-sea scheme produced a kind of national delirium in his English dominions. Blunt, the projector, had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi scheme formed by Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and entailed ruin upon many thousand families of that kingdom. In the scheme of Law, there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people. Law himself became the dupe of the Regent, who transferred the burthen of fifteen hundred millions of the King's debts to the shoulders of the subjects: while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of the political iniquity. The South-sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blunt, with moderate talents, was able

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ble to impoſe upon the whole nation, and make tools of the other directors, to ſerve his own purpoſes, and thoſe of a few aſſociates. When this projector found that the South-ſea ſtock did not riſe according to his expectation upon the bill's being paſſed, he circulated a report, that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon would be exchanged for ſome places in Peru; by which means the Engliſh trade to the South-ſea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffuſed by his emiſſaries, acted like a contagion. In five days the directors opened their books for a ſubſcription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Perſons of all ranks crowded to the houſe in ſuch a manner, that the firſt ſubſcription exceeded two millions of original ſtock. In a few days this ſtock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the ſubſcriptions were ſold for double the price of the firſt payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the ſcandalous arts that were practiſed to enhance the value of the ſtock, and decoy the unwary, we ſhall only obſerve, that by the promiſe of prodigious dividends, and other infamous arts, the ſtock was raiſed to one thouſand; and the whole nation infected with the ſpirit of ſtock-jobbing to an aſtoniſhing degree. All diſtinction of party, religion, ſex, character, and circumſtances, were ſwallowed up in this univerſal concern, or in ſome ſuch pecuniary project. Exchange-Alley was filled with a ſtrange concourſe of ſtateſmen and clergymen, churchmen and diſſenters, Whigs and Tories, phyſicians, lawyers, tradeſmen, and even with multitudes of females. All other profeſſions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engroſſed by this and other chimerical ſchemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles. New companies ſtarted up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility. The Prince of Wales was conſti-

tuted governor of the Welch copper company: the Duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-buildings company: the Duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houſes in London and Weſtminſter. About an hundred ſuch ſchemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thouſands. The ſums propoſed to be raiſed by theſe expedients amounted to three hundred millions ſterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was ſo intoxicated with the ſpirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the groſſeſt deluſion. An obſcure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous ſcheme, which, however, he did not explain, publiſhed propoſals for a ſubſcription, in which he promiſed, that in one month the particulars of his project ſhould be diſcloſed. In the mean time he declared that every perſon paying two guineas ſhould be entitled to a ſubſcription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that ſum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thouſand of theſe ſubſcriptions; and in the evening ſet out for another kingdom. The King, before his departure, had iſſued a proclamation againſt theſe unlawful projects; the Lords-Juſtices afterwards diſmiſſed all the petitions that had been preſented for charters and patents; and the Prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected governor. The South-ſea ſcheme raiſed ſuch a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were ſwept along with it, even contrary to their own ſenſe and inclination; but Blunt and his accomplices ſtill directed the ſtream.

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§ XXVII. The infatuation prevailed till the eighth day of September, when the ſtock began to fall. Then did ſome of the adventurers awake from their delirium. The number of the ſellers daily increaſed. On the twenty-ninth day of the month,

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the ſtock had ſunk to one hundred and fifty: ſeveral eminent goldſmiths and bankers, who had lent great ſums upon it, were obliged to ſtop payment, and abſcond. The ebb of this portentous tide was ſo violent, that it bore down every thing in its way; and an infinite number of families were overwhelmed with ruin. Publick credit ſuſtained a terrible ſhock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, diſappointment, and deſpair. Some principal members of the miniſtry were deeply concerned in theſe fraudulent tranſactions: when they ſaw the price of ſtock ſinking daily, they employed all their influence with the Bank to ſupport the credit of the South-ſea company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to ſubſcribe into the ſtock of the South-ſea company, valued at four hundred per cent. three millions five hundred thouſand pounds, which the company was to repay to the Bank on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the enſuing year. This tranſaction was managed by Mr. Robert Walpole, who, with his own hand, wrote the minute of agreement, afterwards known by the name of the Bank Contract. Books were opened at the Bank, to take in a ſubſcription for the ſupport of publick credit: and conſiderable ſums of money were brought in. By this expedient the ſtock was raiſed at firſt, and thoſe who contrived it ſeized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of goldſmiths and the Sword-blade company, from the fall of South-ſea ſtock, occaſioned ſuch a run upon the Bank, that the money was paid away faſter than it could be received from the ſubſcription. Then the South-ſea ſtock ſunk again; and the directors of the Bank, finding themſelves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which, indeed, they were under no obligation to perform, for it was drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to be no more than the rough draft of a ſubſequent agreement,

agreement, without due form, penalty, or clauſe of obligation. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increaſing, expreſſes were diſpatched to Hanover, repreſenting the ſtate of the nation, and preſſing the King to return. He accordingly ſhortened his intended ſtay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November. CHAP. II. 1720.

§ XXIII. The Parliament being aſſembled on the eighth day of December, his Majeſty expreſſed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had ſo deeply affected the publick credit at home: he earneſtly deſired the Commons to conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore the national credit, and fix it upon a laſting eſtabliſhment. The Lower Houſe was too much intereſted in the calamity, to poſtpone the conſideration of that ſubject. The members ſeemed to lay aſide all party diſtinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an enquiry, by which juſtice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joſeph Jekyll moved, that a ſelect committee might be appointed, to examine the particulars of this tranſaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaſter of the forces, obſerved, that ſuch a method would protract the enquiry, while the publick credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the Houſe he had formed a ſcheme for reſtoring publick credit; but, before he would communicate this plan, deſired to know whether the ſubſcriptions, of publick debts and incumbrances, money-ſubſcriptions and other contracts made with the South-ſea company, ſhould remain in the preſent ſtate. After a warm debate, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, "Unleſs altered for the eaſe and relief of "the proprietors, by a general court of the South-"ſea company, or ſet aſide in due courſe of law." Next day Walpole produced his ſcheme, to engraft

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nine millions of South-sea stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the East-India company, on certain conditions. The House voted, that proposals should be received from the Bank, and those two companies, on this subject. These being delivered, the Commons resolved, that an engrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South-Sea company, into the capital stock of the Bank and East-India company, as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the restoring publick credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the Sub-governor, Deputy-governor, Directors, Treasurer, Under-treasurer, Cashier, Secretary, and Accountants, of the South-sea company, from quitting the kingdom, till the end of the next session of Parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-sea act.

§ XXIX. The Lords were not less eager than the Commons to prosecute this enquiry, though divers members in both Houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to repair the publick losses. He was seconded by Lord Carteret, and even by the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore, they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely, without respect of persons. The sub and deputy-governors, the directors and officers of the South-sea company, were examined at the bar of the House. Then a bill was brought in, disabling them

them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or in the Bank of England. Three brokers were likewiſe examined, and made great diſcoveries. Knight, the treaſurer of the South-ſea company, who had been entruſted with the ſecrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himſelf from the kingdom. A proclamation was iſſued to apprehend him; and another for preventing any of the directors from eſcaping out of the kingdom. At this period, the ſecret committee informed the Houſe of Commons, that they had already diſcovered a train of the deepeſt villainy and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the Houſe: in the mean while, they thought it highly neceſſary to ſecure the perſons of ſome of the directors and principal officers of the South-ſea company, as well as to ſeize their papers. An order was made to ſecure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The perſons of Sir George Caſwell, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigſby, were taken into cuſtody. Sir Theodore Janſſen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the Houſe, and apprehended. Mr. Aiſlabie reſigned his employments of chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treaſury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-ſea company from the places they poſſeſſed under the government.

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§ XXX. The Lords, in the courſe of their examination, diſcovered that large portions of South-ſea ſtock had been given to ſeveral perſons in the adminiſtration and Houſe of Commons, for promoting the paſſing of the South-ſea act. The Houſe immediately reſolved, that this practice was a notorious and moſt dangerous ſpecies of corruption: that the directors of the South ſea company having ordered great quantities of their ſtock to be bought for the ſervice of the company, when it was

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at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of ſtock; and at the ſame time ſeveral of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandeſtine manner, ſold their own ſtock to the company, ſuch directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of truſt, and their ſo doing was one great cauſe of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had ſo much affected publick credit. Many other reſolutions were taken againſt that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt refuſing to anſwer certain interrogations, a violent debate aroſe about the manner in which he ſhould be treated. The Duke of Wharton obſerved, that the government of the beſt Princes was ſometimes rendered intolerable to their ſubjects by bad miniſters: he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a diviſion in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was ſeized with a tranſport of anger. He undertook to vindicate the miniſtry; and ſpoke with ſuch vehemence as produced a violent head-ach, which obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and ſeemed to recover: but next day, in the evening, became lethargick, and being ſeized with a ſuffocation, inſtantly expired. The King, deeply regretted the death of this favourite miniſter, which was the more unfortunate, as it happened at ſuch a critical conjuncture; and he appointed Lord Townſhend to fill his place of ſecretary. Earl Stanhope was ſurvived but a few days by the other ſecretary, Mr. Craggs, who died of the ſmall-pox on the ſixteenth day of February. Knight, the caſhier of the South-ſea company, being ſeized at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, ſecretary to Mr. Leathes, the Britiſh reſident at Bruſſels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the

court of Vienna, that he ſhould be delivered up to ſuch perſons as might be appointed to receive him: but he had found means to intereſt the States of Brabant in his behalf. They inſiſted upon their privilege granted by charter, that no perſon apprehended for any crime in Brabant ſhould be tried in any other country. The Houſe of Commons expreſſed their indignation at this frivolous pretence: inſtances were renewed to the Emperor: and in the mean time Knight eſcaped from the citadel of Antwerp. CHAP. II. 1720.

§ XXXI. The committee of ſecrecy found, that, before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtock of five hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand pounds had been diſpoſed of by the directors, to facilitate the paſſing the bill. Great part of this was diſtributed among the Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs, ſenior, the Ducheſs of Kendal, the Counteſs of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. Secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the exchequer. In conſequence of the committee's report, the Houſe came to ſeveral ſevere, though juſt, reſolutions againſt the directors and officers of the South-ſea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the ſecretaries of the treaſury, charged in the report with having large quantities of ſtock and ſubſcriptions, deſired that he might have an opportunity to clear himſelf. His requeſt was granted; and the affair being diſcuſſed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. Fifty thouſand pounds in ſtock had been taken by Knight for the uſe of the Earl of Sunderland. Great part of the Houſe entered eagerly into this enquiry; and a violent diſpute enſued. The whole ſtrength of the miniſtry was muſtered in his defence. The majority declared him innocent: the nation in general was of another opinion. He reſigned his place of firſt commiſſioner in the treaſury, which was beſtowed upon Mr.

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Robert Walpole; but he ſtill retained the confidence of his maſter. With reſpect to Mr. Aiſlabie, the evidence appeared ſo ſtrong againſt him, that the Commons reſolved, he had promoted the deſtructive execution of the South-ſea ſcheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of publick credit. He was expelled the Houſe, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs, ſenior, died of the lethargy, before he underwent the cenſure of the Houſe. Nevertheleſs, they reſolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and ſome of the directors, in carrying on their ſcandalous practices; and therefore, that all the eſtate of which he was poſſeſſed, from the firſt day of December, in the preceding year, ſhould be applied towards the relief of the unhappy ſufferers in the South-ſea company. The directors, in obedience to the order of the Houſe, delivered in inventories of their eſtates, which were confiſcated by act of Parliament, towards making good the damages ſuſtained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumſtances.

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§ XXXII. The delinquents being thus puniſhed by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the Houſe converted their attention to means for repairing the miſchiefs which the ſcheme had produced. This was a very difficult taſk, on account of the contending intereſts of thoſe engaged in the South-ſea company, which rendered it impoſſible to relieve ſome but at the expence of others. Several wholeſome reſolutions were taken, and preſented with an addreſs to the King, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the Parliament was prorogued for two days only. Then his Majeſty, going to the Houſe of Peers, declared that he had called them together again ſo ſuddenly, that they might reſume the conſideration

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of the ſtate of publick credit. The Commons immediately prepared a bill upon the reſolutions they had taken. The whole capital ſtock, at the end of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty, amounted to about thirty-ſeven millions eight hundred thouſand pounds. The ſtock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thouſand pounds: the remaining capital ſtock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit ariſing from the execution of the South-ſea ſcheme; and out of this the bill enacted, that ſeven millions ſhould be paid to the publick. The preſent act likewiſe directed ſeveral additions to be made to the ſtock of the proprietors, out of that poſſeſſed by the company in their own right: it made a particular diſtribution of ſtock, amounting to two millions two hundred thouſand pounds; and upon remitting five millions of the ſeven to be paid to the publick, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after theſe diſtributions, the remaining capital ſtock ſhould be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thouſand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on ſtock unredeemed; of which the Parliament diſcharged all the debtors, upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loſs exceeded ſix millions nine hundred thouſand pounds; for many debtors refuſed to make any payment. The proprietors of the ſtock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the Parliament, in the ſequel, revived that ſum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were preſented to the Houſe, crying for juſtice againſt the villainy of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily publiſhed on

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on the ſame ſubject; ſo that the whole nation was exaſperated to the higheſt pitch of reſentment. Nevertheleſs by the wiſe and vigorous reſolutions of the Parliament, the South-ſea company was ſoon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the publick: the ferment of the people ſubſided; and the credit of the nation was reſtored.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

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ventions with Sweden and Heſſe-Caſſel. § XXXV. *Vote of credit.* § XXXVI. *Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards.* § XXXVII. *Preliminaries of peace.* § XXXVIII. *Death and character of George* I. *King of Great Britain.*

BOOK II.

§ I. DURING the infatuation produced by this infamous ſcheme, luxury, vice, and pro-

1721. fligacy, increaſed to a ſhocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themſelves with the rareſt dainties, and the moſt expenſive wines that could be imported: they purchaſed the moſt ſumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though without taſte or diſcernment: they indulged their criminal paſſions to the moſt ſcandalous exceſs: their diſcourſe was the language of pride, inſolence, and the moſt ridiculous oſtentation: they affected to ſcoff at religion and morality; and even to ſet heaven at defiance. The Earl of Nottingham complained in the Houſe of Lords of the growth of atheiſm, profaneneſs, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for ſuppreſſing blaſphemy and profaneneſs. It contained ſeveral articles ſeemingly calculated to reſtrain the liberty granted to nonconformiſts by the laws of the laſt ſeſſions: for that reaſon it met with violent oppoſition. It was ſupported by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Earl of Nottingham, Lords Bathurſt and Trevor, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Litchfield and Coventry. One of theſe ſaid, he verily believed the preſent calamity occaſioned by the South-ſea project was a judgment of God on the blaſphemy and profaneneſs of the nation. Lord Onſlow replied, "That noble Peer "muſt then be a great ſinner, for he has loſt conſi-"derably by the South-ſea ſcheme." The Duke of Wharton, who had rendered himſelf famous by his wit and profligacy, ſaid he was not inſenſible of the common opinion of the town concerning himſelf,

and

and gladly ſeized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring he was far from being a patron of blaſphemy, or an enemy to religion. On the other hand, he could not but oppoſe the bill, becauſe he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy ſcripture. Then pulling an old family bible from his pocket, he quoted ſeveral paſſages from the epiſtles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding with a deſire that the bill might be thrown out. The Earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary King, yet he did not deſire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion; and, ſhould the Houſe declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be choſen a cardinal; for he had rather ſit in the conclave than with their Lordſhips upon thoſe terms. After a vehement debate, the bill was poſtponed to a long day, by a conſiderable majority. CHAP. III. 1721.

§ II. The ſeaſon was far advanced before the ſupplies were granted: and at length they were not voted with that cheerfulneſs and good humour which the majority had hitherto manifeſted on ſuch occaſions. On the ſixteenth day of June, the King ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, importing, that he had agreed to pay a ſubſidy to the Crown of Sweden, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. The leaders of the oppoſition took fire at this intimation. They deſired to know whether this ſubſidy, amounting to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, was to be paid to Sweden over and above the expence of maintaining a ſtrong ſquadron in the Baltick? Lord Moleſworth obſerved, that, by our late conduct, we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies: for we were obliged to pay them well for their aſſiſtance. He affirmed that the treaties which had been made with Sweden, at different times, were inconſiſtent and contradictory: that our late engagements with that Crown were contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting

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ſubſiſting with Denmark, and directly oppoſite to the meaſures formerly concerted with the Czar of Muſcovy. He ſaid, that in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gained in the courſe of the war, the King of Pruſſia ought to give up Stetin, and the Elector of Hanover reſtore Bremen and Verden: that, after all, England had no buſineſs to intermeddle with the affairs of the Empire: that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltick, but that of procuring naval ſtores: he owned that hemp was a very neceſſary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but he inſiſted, that if due encouragement were given to ſome of our plantations in America, we might be ſupplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the Swediſh ſupply was granted; and, in about three weeks, their complaiſance was put to another proof. They were given to underſtand, by a ſecond meſſage, that the debts of the civil-liſt amounted to five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and his Majeſty hoped they would empower him to raiſe that ſum upon the revenue, as he propoſed it ſhould be replaced in the civil-liſt, and re-imburſed by a deduction from the ſalaries and wages of all officers, as well as from the penſions and other payments from the Crown. A bill was prepared for this purpoſe, though not without warm oppoſition; and, at the ſame time, an act paſſed for a general pardon. On the tenth day of Auguſt, the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he expreſſed his concern for the ſufferings of the innocent, and a juſt indignation againſt the guilty, with reſpect to the South-ſea ſcheme. Theſe profeſſions were judged neceſſary to clear his own character, which had incurred the ſuſpicion of ſome people, who whiſpered that he was not altogether free from connexions with the projectors of that deſign; that the Emperor had, at his deſire, refuſed to deliver up

Knight;

Knight; and that he favoured the directors and their accomplices. CHAP. III.

§ III. Lords Townſhend and Carteret were now appointed ſecretaries of ſtate: and the Earl of Ilay was veſted with the office of lord privy-ſeal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain was ſigned at Madrid. The contracting parties engaged to reſtore mutually all the effects ſeized and confiſcated on both ſides. In particular, the King of England promiſed to reſtore all the ſhips of the Spaniſh fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them, if they were ſold. He likewiſe promiſed, in a ſecret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Italy; and the King of Spain made an abſolute ceſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. At the ſame time, a defenſive alliance was concluded between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congreſs at Cambray, where they hoped to conſolidate a general peace, by determining all differences between the Emperor and his Catholick Majeſty. In the mean time, the powers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, engaged, by virtue of the preſent treaty, to grant to the Duke of Parma a particular protection for the preſervation of his territories and rights, and for the ſupport of his dignity. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the States-General ſhould be invited to accede to this alliance. The congreſs at Cambray was opened: but the demands on both ſides were ſo high, that it proved ineffectual. In the mean time, the peace between Ruſſia and Sweden was concluded, on condition that the Czar ſhould retain Livonia, Ingria, Eſtonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, and Nerva, in conſideration of his reſtoring part of Finland, and paying two millions of rix-dollars to the King of Sweden. The perſonal animoſity ſubſiſting between King George and the Czar ſeemed to increaſe. Baſtagif, the 1721.

BOOK II. 1721. the Ruſſian reſident at London, having preſented a memorial that contained ſome unguarded expreſſions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight. The Czar publiſhed a declaration at Peterſburgh, complaining of this outrage, which, he ſaid, ought naturally to have engaged him to uſe repriſals; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian intereſt, he was unwilling that the Engliſh nation ſhould ſuffer for a piece of injuſtice in which they had no ſhare. He, therefore, granted to them all manner of ſecurity, and free liberty to trade in all his dominions. To finiſh this ſtrange tiſſue of negociations, King George concluded a treaty with the Moors of Africk, againſt which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

§ IV. In the courſe of this year, Pope Clement XI. died: and the Princeſs of Wales was delivered of a Prince, baptized by the name of William-Auguſtus, the late Duke of Cumberland. A dreadful plague raging at Marſeilles, a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding any perſon to come into England, from any part of France between the Bay of Biſcay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Other precautions were taken to guard againſt contagion. An act of Parliament had paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, for the prevention of infection, by building peſt-houſes, to which all infected perſons, and all perſons of an infected family, ſhould be conveyed; and, by drawing trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The King, in his ſpeech at opening the ſeſſion of Parliament, on the nineteenth day of October, intimated the pacification of the North, by the concluſion of the treaty between Muſcovy and Sweden. He deſired the Houſe of Commons to conſider of means for eaſing the duties upon the imported commodities uſed in the manufactures of the kingdom. He obſerved, that the nation might be ſupplied with naval

ſtores

stores from our own colonies in North America; and that their being employed in this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert them from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great-Britain. He expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstance of affairs abroad: and he earnestly recommended to their consideration, means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling. CHAP. III. 1721.

§ V. One of the first objects that attracted the attention of the Upper House was the case of John Law, the famous projector. The resentment of the people on account of his Mississippi scheme had obliged him to leave France. He retired to Italy; and was said to have visited the Pretender at Rome. From thence he repaired to Hanover; and returned to England from the Baltick, in the fleet commanded by Sir John Norris. The King favoured him with a private audience: he kept open house, and was visited by great numbers of persons of the first quality. Earl Coningsby represented, in the House of Lords, that he could not but entertain some jealousy of a person who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom; who, being immensely rich, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with those who were grown desperate, in consequence of being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. He observed, that this person was the more dangerous, as he had renounced his natural affection to his country, his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, and his religion, by turning Roman Catholick. Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but, having at last received the benefit of the King's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased

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being taken off, he was come over to plead his Majesty's pardon. He said there was no law to keep an Englishman out of his country; and, as Mr. Law was a subject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the King's power to hinder him from coming over. After some dispute, the subject was dropped, and this great projector pleaded his pardon in the King's-Bench, according to the usual form.

§ VI. The ministry had by this time secured such a majority in both Houses, as enabled them to carry any point without the least difficulty. Some chiefs of the opposition they had brought over to their measures, and among the rest Lord Harcourt, who was created a viscount, and gratified with a pension of four thousand pounds. Nevertheless they could not shut the mouths of the minority, who still preserved the privilege of complaining. Great debates were occasioned by the navy-debt, which was increased to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Some members in both Houses affirmed that such extraordinary expence could not be for the immediate service of Great-Britain; but, in all probability, for the preservation of foreign acquisitions. The ministers answered, that near two-thirds of the navy-debts were contracted in the late reign; and the Parliament acquiesced in this declaration: but in reality, the navy-debt had been unnecessarily increased, by keeping seamen in pay during the winter, and sending fleets to the Mediterranean and Baltick, in order to support the interests of Germany. The Duke of Wharton moved that the treaty with Spain might be laid before the House. The Earl of Sunderland said it contained a secret article which the King of Spain desired might not be made publick, until after the treaty of Cambray should be discussed. The question was put, and the Duke's motion rejected. The Earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation,

tion, ſo the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage, that contrary to the law of nations, the Spaniſh fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war; even while a Britiſh miniſter and a ſecretary of ſtate were treating amicably at Madrid: that the war was neither juſt nor politick, ſince it interrupted one of the moſt valuable branches of the Engliſh commerce, at a time when the nation groaned under the preſſure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long, expenſive war. He, therefore, moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring that the inſtructions given to Sir George Byng, now Lord Torrington, ſhould be laid before the Houſe. This motion being likewiſe, upon the queſtion, rejected, a proteſt was entered. They voted an addreſs, however, to know in what manner the King had diſpoſed of the ſhips taken from the Spaniards. Diſputes aroſe alſo from the bill to prevent infection. Earl Cowper repreſented, that the removal of perſons to a Lazaret, or peſt-houſe, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the Britiſh conſtitution; inconſiſtent with the lenity of a free government, ſuch as could never be wiſely or uſefully put in practice; the more odious, becauſe copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulſion. Theſe obnoxious clauſes were accordingly repealed, though not without great oppoſition. Indeed, nothing can be more abſurd than a conſtitution that will not admit of juſt and neceſſary laws and regulations to prevent the dire conſequences of the worſt of all calamities. Such reſtrictions, inſtead of favouring the lenity of a free government, would be the moſt cruel impoſition that could be laid on a free people, as it would act in diametrical oppoſition to the great principle of ſociety, which is the preſervation of the individual.

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§ VII. The Quakers having preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting in their ſolemn affirmation the words "In the preſence of Almighty God," the Houſe complied with their requeſt: but the bill gave riſe to a warm debate among the Peers. Dr. Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, ſaid he did not know why ſuch a diſtinguiſhing mark of indulgence ſhould be allowed to a ſet of people who were hardly Chriſtians. He was ſupported by the Archbiſhop of York, the Earl of Strafford, and Lord North and Grey. A petition was preſented againſt the bill by the London Clergy, who expreſſed a ſerious concern leſt the minds of good men ſhould be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Chriſtianity triumph, when they ſhould ſee ſuch condeſcenſion made by a Chriſtian legiſlature to a ſet of men who renounce the divine inſtitutions of Chriſt; particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Chriſtians. The petition, though preſented by the Archbiſhop of York, was branded by the miniſtry as a ſeditious libel, and rejected by the majority. Then, upon a motion by the Earl of Sunderland, the Houſe reſolved, that ſuch Lords as might enter proteſtations with reaſons, ſhould do it before two o'clock on the next ſitting day, and ſign them before the Houſe riſes. The ſupplies being granted, and the buſineſs of the ſeſſion diſpatched as the court was pleaſed to dictate, on the ſeventh day of March the Parliament was prorogued. In a few days it was diſſolved, and another convoked by proclamation. In the election of members for the new Parliament the miniſtry exerted itſelf with ſuch ſucceſs, as returned a great majority in the Houſe of Commons, extremely well adapted for all the purpoſes of an adminiſtration *.

Annals. Hiſt. Reg. Deb. in Parliament. Polit. State. Tindal.

§ VIII.

* The Earl of Sunderland died in April, after having incurred a great load of popular odium, from his ſuppoſed connexions with the directors

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§ VIII. In the beginning of May, the King is said to have received from the Duke of Orleans full and certain information of a freſh conſpiracy formed againſt his perſon and government. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their reſpective commands. Lieutenant-General Maccartney was diſpatched to Ireland, to bring over ſome troops from that kingdom. Some ſuſpected perſons were apprehended in Scotland: the States of Holland were deſired to have their auxiliary or guarantee troops in readineſs to be embarked; and Colonel Churchill was ſent to the court of France with a private commiſſion. The apprehenſion raiſed by this ſuppoſed plot affected the publick credit. South-Sea ſtock began to fall; and crowds of people called in their money from the Bank. Lord Townſhend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the King's command, ſignifying his Majeſty's having received unqueſtionable advices, that ſeveral of his ſubjects had entered into a wicked conſpiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion in favour of a Popiſh Pretender; but that he was firmly aſſured the authors of it neither were nor would be ſupported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately anſwered by an affectionate addreſs from the court of aldermen; and the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The King had determined to viſit Hanover, and actually ſettled a regency, in which the Prince of Wales was not included: but now this intended journey was laid aſide: the court was removed

rectors of the South-Sea company. He was a miniſter of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and head-ſtrong. His death was ſoon followed by that of his father-in-law, the great Duke of Marlborough, whoſe faculties had been for ſome time greatly impaired. He was interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, with ſuch profuſion of funeral pomp, as evinced the pride and oſtentation, much more than the taſte and concern of thoſe who directed his obſequies. He was ſucceeded as Maſter of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the firſt regiment of foot guards, by Earl Cadogan.

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to Kenſington, and the Prince retired to Richmond. The Biſhop of Rocheſter having been ſeized, with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high-treaſon. The Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, Mr. Cockran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland, and Mr. Chriſtopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the ſame place. Mr. George Kelly, an Iriſh clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonſhire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe, an Iriſh prieſt, and ſeveral perſons, were taken into cuſtody; and Mr. Shippen's houſe was ſearched. After Biſhop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir Conſtantine Phipps preſented a petition to the court at the Old-Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying, that, in conſideration of the biſhop's ill ſtate of health, he might be either brought to a ſpeedy trial, bailed, or diſcharged: but this was over-ruled. The Churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a Biſhop, which they ſaid was an outrage upon the Church of England, and the epiſcopal order. Far from concealing their ſentiments on this ſubject, the clergy ventured to offer up publick prayers for his health, in almoſt all the churches and chapels of London and Weſtminſter. In the mean time, the King attended by the Prince of Wales, made a ſummer progreſs through the weſtern counties.

§ IX. The new Parliament being aſſembled on the ninth day of October, his Majeſty made them acquainted with the nature of the conſpiracy. He ſaid the conſpirators had, by their emiſſaries, made the ſtrongeſt inſtances for ſuccours from foreign powers; but were diſappointed in their expectations. That, nevertheleſs, confiding in their numbers, they had reſolved once more, upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of his government. He ſaid

ſaid they had provided conſiderable ſums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, ſecured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and, had not the plot been timely diſcovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confuſion. He expatiated upon the mildneſs and integrity of his own government; and inveighed againſt the ingratitude, the implacability, and madneſs of the diſaffected, concluding with an aſſurance, that he would ſteadily adhere to the conſtitution in Church and State, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and meaſure of all his actions. Such addreſſes were preſented by both Houſes as the fears and attachment of the majority may be ſuppoſed to have dictated on ſuch an occaſion. A bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to ſuch an unuſual length of time. By this ſuſpenſion they, in effect, veſted the miniſtry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people.

§ X. The oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons was ſo violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it neceſſary to alarm their apprehenſions by a dreadful ſtory of a deſign to ſeize the Bank and Exchequer, and to proclaim the Pretender on the Royal Exchange. Their paſſions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they paſſed the bill, which immediately received the royal aſſent. The Duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of high-treaſon. On the ſixteenth day of November, the King ſent to the Houſe of Peers the original and printed copy of a declaration ſigned by the Pretender. It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth day of September, in the preſent year, and appeared to be a propoſal addreſſed to the ſubjects of Great-Britain and Ireland, as well as to all

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foreign princes and States. In this paper, the Chevalier de St. George, having mentioned the late violation of the freedom of elections, conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſions, infamous informers, and the ſtate of proſcription in which he ſuppoſed every honeſt man to be, very gravely propoſed, that if King George would relinquiſh to him the throne of Great-Britain, he would, in return, beſtow upon him the title of King in his native dominions, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it: he likewiſe promiſed to leave to King George his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever, in due courſe, his natural right ſhould take place. The Lords unanimouſly reſolved, that this declaration was a falſe, inſolent, and traitorous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange. The Commons concurred in theſe reſolutions. Both Houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation at the ſurprizing inſolence of the Pretender; and aſſuring his Majeſty, they were determined to ſupport his title to the Crown with their lives and fortunes. The Commons prepared a bill for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all Papiſts, or perſons educated in the Popiſh religion, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorders. This bill, though ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſome moderate members, as a ſpecies of perſecution, was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, together with another, obliging all perſons, being Papiſts, in Scotland, and all perſons in Great-Britain refuſing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the King's perſon and government, to regiſter their names and real eſtates. Both theſe bills paſſed through the Upper Houſe without amendments, and received the royal ſanction.

§ XI. Mr. Layer being brought to his trial at the King's-Bench, on the twenty-firſt day of November,

ber, was convicted of having inlisted men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion, and received sentence of death. He was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons: but he either could not, or would not, discover the particulars of the conspiracy, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-Bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the House, that, from the examination of Layer and others, a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the Pretender on the throne of these realms: that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the King intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose; at which time the tower was to have been seized. That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the late Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, and the Bishop of Rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy; that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen, Neynoe the Irish priest, who by this time was drowned in the river Thames,

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in attempting to make his eſcape from the meſſenger's houſe, Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

§ XII. This pretended conſpiracy, in all likelihood, extended no farther than the firſt rudiments of a deſign that was never digeſted into any regular form; otherwiſe the perſons ſaid to be concerned in it muſt have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy: for they were charged with having made application to the Regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the King of Great-Britain. The Houſe of Commons, however, reſolved, that it was a deteſtable and horrid conſpiracy for raiſing a rebellion, ſeizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the perſons of his moſt ſacred Majeſty and the Prince of Wales, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, by placing a popiſh Pretender upon the throne: that it was formed and carried on by perſons of figure and diſtinction, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought in, and paſſed, for inflicting pains and penalties againſt John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by theſe acts to be kept in cloſe cuſtody during his Majeſty's pleaſure, in any priſon in Great-Britain; and that they ſhould not attempt to eſcape on pain of death, to be inflicted upon them and their aſſiſtants. Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the ſame nature againſt the Biſhop of Rocheſter. This was immediately brought into the Houſe, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence againſt him but conjectures and hearſay. The biſhop wrote a letter to the Speaker, importing, that, though conſcious of his own innocence, he ſhould decline giving the Houſe any trouble that day, contenting himſelf with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Counſel being heard for the bill, it was committed

Annals. Tindal. Deb. in Parliam. Pol. State.

to

to a grand committee on the ſixth day of April, when the majority of the Tory members quitted the Houſe. It was then moved, that the biſhop ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, and baniſhed the kingdom for ever. Mr. Lawſon and Mr. Oglethorpe ſpoke in his favour. CHAP. III. 1722.

§ XIII. The bill being paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords, the biſhop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May. Himſelf and his counſel having been heard, the Lords proceeded to conſider the articles of the bill. When they read it a third time, a motion was made to paſs it, and then a long and warm debate enſued. Earl Paulet demonſtrated the danger and injuſtice of ſwerving in ſuch an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The Duke of Wharton, having ſummed up the depoſitions, and proved the inſufficiency of them, concluded with ſaying, that, let the conſequences be what they would, he hoped ſuch a helliſh ſtain would never ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious Houſe as to condemn a man without the leaſt evidence. Lord Bathurſt ſpoke againſt the bill with equal ſtrength and eloquence. He ſaid, if ſuch extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he ſaw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt intercepted letter, might be made criminal. He obſerved, that Cardinal Mazarin boaſted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumſtances, atteſted by witneſſes, deprive him of his life at his pleaſure. Turning to the bench of biſhops, who had been generally unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he ſaid he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious Biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome ſavage Indians, An. 1723.

who

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who believed they inherited not only the ſpoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was ſupported by the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Seafield, and Lord Lechmere, which laſt was anſwered by Earl Cowper. This nobleman obſerved that the ſtrongeſt argument urged in behalf of the bill was neceſſity: but that, for his part, he ſaw no neceſſity that could juſtify ſuch unprecedented and ſuch dangerous proceedings, as the conſpiracy had above twelve months before been happily diſcovered, and the effects of it prevented: that, beſides the intrinſick weight and ſtrength of the government, the hands of thoſe at the helm had been ſtill further fortified by the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the additional troops which had been raiſed. He ſaid the known rules of evidence, as laid down at firſt, and eſtabliſhed by the law of the land, were the birthright of every ſubject in the nation, and ought to be conſtantly obſerved, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but alſo in both Houſes of Parliament, till altered by the legiſlature: that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the poſt-office was a very dangerous precedent. In former times (ſaid he) it was thought very grievous that in capital caſes a man ſhould be affected by ſimilitude of hands; but here the caſe is much worſe, ſince it is allowed that the clerks of the poſt-office ſhould carry the ſimilitude of hands four months in their minds. He applauded the biſhop's noble deportment, in declining to anſwer before the Houſe of Commons, whoſe proceedings in this unprecedented manner, againſt a Lord of Parliament, was ſuch an encroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they ſubmitted to it, by paſſing the bill, they might be termed the laſt of Britiſh Peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. The other party were not ſo ſolicitous about anſwering reaſons, as eager to put the queſtion,

tion, when the bill paſſed, and a proteſt was entered. By this act the biſhop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was baniſhed the realm, and ſubjected to the pains of death in caſe he ſhould return, as were all perſons who ſhould correſpond with him during his exile. Dr. Friend, the celebrated phyſician, who was a member of the Houſe, and had exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in behalf of the biſhop, was now taken into cuſtody, on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. CHAP. III. 1723.

§ XIV. The next object that excited the reſentment of the Commons was the ſcheme of a lottery, to be drawn at Harburgh, in the King's German dominions. The Houſe appointed a committee to enquire into this and other lotteries at that time on foot in London. The ſcheme was publiſhed, on pretence of raiſing a ſubſcription for maintaining a trade between Great-Britain and the King's territories on the Elbe: but it was a myſterious ſcene of iniquity, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully diſcover. They reported, however, that it was an infamous, fraudulent undertaking, whereby many unwary perſons had been drawn in, to their great loſs: that the manner of carrying it on had been a manifeſt violation of the laws of the kingdom: that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for ſo doing, made uſe of his Majeſty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his Majeſty's ſubjects to engage or be concerned therein. A bill was brought in to ſuppreſs this lottery; and to oblige the managers of it to make reſtitution of the money they had received from the contributors. At the ſame time the Houſe reſolved, That John Lord Viſcount Barrington had been notoriouſly guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking; for which offence he ſhould be expelled the Houſe. The court of Vienna having erected

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erected an East-India company at Ostend, upon a scheme formed by one Colebrook, an English merchant, Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the House of Commons the great detriment which the English East-India company had already received, and were likely further to sustain, by this Ostend company. The House immediately resolved, That for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East-India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanour; and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprize. By another act, relating to the South-sea company, the two millions of stock which had been annihilated were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law passed, for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark, called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh day of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyrick, acknowledgment, and affection to a Parliament which had complied with all his Majesty's wishes.

§ XV. His Majesty, having ennobled the son of Mr. Robert Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church promotions. He admitted the imprisoned Lords and Gentlemen to bail; granted a pardon to Lord Bolingbroke; and ordered the Bishop of Rochester to be conveyed to the continent. Then he himself set out for Hanover, leaving the administration of his kingdoms in the hands of a regency, Lord Harcourt being one of the Justices. The King was attended by the two secretaries, Lords Townshend and Carteret, who were counted able negociators. The affairs of the continent had begun to take a new turn. The interests and connections of the different

ferent Princes were become perplexed and embarraſſed; and King George reſolved to unravel them by dint of negociation. Underſtanding that a treaty was on the carpet between the Czar and the King of Sweden, favourable to the Duke of Holſtein's pretenſions to Sleſwick, the poſſeſſion of which the Elector of Hanover had guaranteed to Denmark, his Majeſty began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden. The Regent of France and the King of Spain had now compromiſed all differences; and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage between Philip's ſons and the Regent's daughters. The former propoſed new treaties to England; but inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, as well as upon the King's openly declaring againſt the Oſtend company. His Britannick Majeſty was apprehenſive, that, ſhould the Emperor be hard preſſed on that ſubject, he might join the Czar and the King of Sweden, and promote their deſigns in favour of the Duke of Holſtein. On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed againſt the treaty of London. The Pope had proteſted againſt any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right. Memorials to the ſame effect had been preſented by the King of Sardinia, the Dukes of Tuſcany, Parma, and Modena. France and Spain were inclined to ſupport theſe potentates againſt the Houſe of Auſtria. Europe ſeemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was entangled in ſuch a variety of treaties and intereſts, that he knew not well how to extricate himſelf from the troubleſome engagements he had contracted. By declaring for the Emperor, he muſt have countenanced the new eſtabliſhment at Oſtend, which was ſo prejudicial to his Britiſh ſubjects, and incurred the reſentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy. In renouncing the intereſt of the Emperor, he would have expoſed his German dominions. In vain he exhorted the Em-

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peror to relax in his diſputes with Spain, and give up the Oſtend company, which was ſo detrimental and diſagreeable to his faithful allies: the court of Vienna promiſed in general to obſerve the treaties which it had concluded, but declined entering into any particular diſcuſſion; ſo that all his Majeſty's endeavours iſſued in contracting cloſer connexions with Pruſſia and Denmark. All thoſe negociations carried on, all thoſe treaties concluded by King George, with almoſt every Prince and State in Chriſtendom, which ſucceeded one another ſo faſt, and appear, at firſt view, ſo intricate and unaccountable, were founded upon two ſimple and natural principles, namely, the deſire of aſcertaining his acquiſitions as Elector of Hanover, and his reſolution to ſecure himſelf againſt the diſaffection of his Britiſh ſubjects, as well as the efforts of the Pretender.

§ XVI. Great-Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity. Ireland was a little ruffled by an incident which ſeemed to have been miſrepreſented to the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furniſhing Ireland with copper currency, in which it was deficient. A great clamour was raiſed againſt this coin. The Parliament of that kingdom, which met in September, reſolved, That it would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the patent had been obtained by miſrepreſentation: that the halfpence wanted weight: that, even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loſs to the nation; that granting the power of coinage to a private perſon had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous conſequence. Addreſſes from both Houſes were preſented to the King on this ſubject. The affair was referred to the Lords of the privy-council of England. They juſtified the conduct

duct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Iſaac Newton and other officers of the Mint, who had made the aſſay and trial of Wood's half-pence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared that this currency exceeded in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of metal, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of King Charles II. King James II. King William and Queen Mary. The privy council likewiſe demonſtrated, that his Majeſty's predeceſſors had always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private perſons: that none of theſe patents had been ſo beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor General, and after Sir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in every particular: finally, they proved, by a great number of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſuch money in Ireland. Notwithſtanding this deciſion, the ferment of the Iriſh nation was induſtriouſly kept up by clamour, pamphlets, papers, and lampoons, written by Dean Swift and other authors; ſo that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of one hundred thouſand to that of forty thouſand pounds. Thus the noiſe was ſilenced. The Commons of Ireland paſſed an act, for accepting the affirmation of the Quakers inſtead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thouſand pounds towards diſcharging the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that ſum. CHAP. III. 1723.

§ XVII. In the month of October, England loſt a worthy nobleman in the death of Earl Cowper, who had twice diſcharged the office of Lord Chancellor, with equal diſcernment and integrity. He was profoundly ſkilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehenſion quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He poſſeſſed a

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manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful. This year was likewiſe remarkable for the death of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, who ſince the deceaſe of Louis XIV. had ruled that nation with the moſt abſolute authority. He was a Prince of taſte and ſpirit, endowed with ſhining talents for empire, which he did not fail to diſplay, even in the midſt of effeminate purſuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm conſtitution of the infant King, he had conceived hopes of aſcending the throne, and taken his meaſures accordingly; but the young Monarch's health began to be eſtabliſhed, and all the Duke's ſchemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the Duke of Bourbon as prime-miniſter. King George immediately received aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of the French court, to cultivate and even improve the good underſtanding ſo happily eſtabliſhed between France and Great-Britain. The King arrived in England on the eighteenth day of December: and on the ninth day of January the Parliament was aſſembled. His Majeſty, in his ſpeech, recommended to the Commons the care of the publick debts; and he expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the ſinking fund improved and augmented, ſo as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being ſpeedily and gradually diſcharged.

§ XVIII. This was the repeated theory of patriotiſm, which unhappily for the ſubjects, was never reduced to practice: not but that a beginning of ſuch a laudable work was made in this very ſeſſion, by an act for leſſening the publick debts. This law provided that the annuities at five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except ſuch as had been ſubſcribed into the South-Sea, together with the unſubſcribed blanks of the lottery in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fourteen, ſhould be paid off at Lady-day of the year next enſuing, with

with the money arising from the sinking fund. The ministry, however, did not persevere in this path of prudent œconomy. The Commons granted all the supplies that were demanded. They voted ten thousand seamen; and the majority, though not without violent opposition, agreed to maintain four thousand additional troops, which had been raised in the preceding year: so that the establishment of the land forces amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four. The expence of the year was defrayed by a land-tax and malt-tax. The Commons having dispatched the supply, took into consideration a grievance arising from protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of Parliament, under which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the prosecution of their just creditors. The Commons resolved, That all protections granted by members of that House should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn. The Lords made a declaration to the same purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of Peers*. On the twenty-fourth day of April, his Majesty closed the session in the usual manner, made some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state, and sent Mr. Horatio Walpole as ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France.

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Oldmixon. Polit. State Hist. Reg. Annals of K George. Mem. Hist. Tindal.

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* The Duke of Newcastle was now appointed Secretary of State; the Duke of Grafton Lord-Chamberlain; and Lord Carteret, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

The King instituted a Professorship for the modern languages in each university.

In the month of May died Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and completed a very valuable collection of manuscripts.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was by this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two Princesses Amelia and Carolina, the Duke of Bedford and his sister, with many other persons of distinction, underwent this operation with success.

* Dr. Henry Sacheverel died in June, after having bequeathed five hundred pounds to the late Bishop of Rochester.

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§ XIX. In the beginning of this year. Philip King of Spain, retiring with his Queen to the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo, ſent the Marquis of Grimaldi, his principal ſecretary of ſtate, to his ſon Louis, Prince of Aſturias, with a ſolemn renunciation of the Crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Bleſſed Virgin with the warmeſt devotion; and put himſelf and his kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was publiſhed through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Caſtile reſolved, That Louis might aſſume the reins of government without aſſembling the Cortez. The Engliſh miniſter at Paris was inſtructed to interpoſe in behalf of the French Proteſtants, againſt whom a ſevere edict had been lately publiſhed; but his remonſtrances produced no effect. England, in the mean time, was quite barren of ſuch events as deſerve a place in hiſtory. The government was now firmly eſtabliſhed on the neck of oppoſition; and commerce flouriſhed even under the load of grievous impoſitions.

§ XX. The next Parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November, ſeemed to be aſſembled for no other purpoſe than that of eſtabliſhing funds for the expence of the enſuing year: yet the ſeſſion was diſtinguiſhed by a remarkable incident: namely, the trial of the Earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the ſale of places, and the money of ſuitors depoſited with the Maſters of Chancery, ſo as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it neceſſary to reſign the great ſeal in the beginning of January. On the ninth day of the enſuing month, the King ſent a meſſage to the Commons, importing, that his Majeſty, having reaſon to apprehend that the ſuitors in the Court of Chancery were in danger of loſing a conſiderable ſum of money, from the inſufficiency of ſome of the Maſters, thought himſelf obliged in

juſtice and compaſſion to the ſaid ſufferers, to take the moſt ſpeedy and proper method the law would allow, for enquiring into the ſtate of the Maſter's accounts, and ſecuring their effects for the benefit of the ſuitors; and his Majeſty having had ſeveral reports laid before him, in purſuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the Houſe, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the ſhortneſs of the time, and the circumſtances and nature of the proceedings, would admit.

§ XXI. Theſe papers being taken into conſideration, Sir George Oxenden obſerved, that enormous abuſes had crept into the high court of Chancery: that the crimes and miſdemeanors of the late Lord Chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled the eſtates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunaticks: that he had raiſed the offices of Maſters in Chancery to an exorbitant price; truſting in their hands large ſums of money belonging to ſuitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands; and that in ſeveral caſes he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved, That Thomas Earl of Macclesfield ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors. Mr. Pulteney moved, That this affair might be left to the conſideration of a ſelect committee. Sir William Wyndham aſſerted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and ſeem to give up the moſt valuable of their privileges, the inqueſt after ſtate criminals. The queſtion being put, it was carried for the impeachment. The Earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the Upper Houſe: a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in, to indemnify the Maſters in Chancery from the penalties of the law, upon diſcovering what conſideration they had paid

Annals. Mem Hiſt. Debates in Parliam.

BOOK II. 1724. for their admiſſion to their reſpective offices. The trial laſted twenty days: the Earl was convicted of fraudulent practices; and condemned in a fine of thirty thouſand pounds, with impriſonment until that ſum ſhould be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about ſix weeks; but upon producing the money he was diſcharged: and Sir Peter King, now created Baron of Oakham, ſucceeded him in the office of Chancellor.

An. 1725. § XXII. His Majeſty, on the eighth day of April, gave the Houſe of Commons to underſtand, that having been engaged in ſome extraordinary expences, he hoped he ſhould be enabled to raiſe a ſum of money, by making uſe of the funds lately eſtabliſhed for the payment of the civil liſt annuities, in order to diſcharge the debts contracted in the civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the houſehold, moved for an addreſs, That an account ſhould be laid before the Houſe of all monies paid for ſecret ſervice, penſions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and one, to the twenty-fifth of the ſame month in the preſent year. This addreſs being voted, a motion was made to conſider the King's meſſage. Mr. Pulteney urged, that this conſideration ſhould be poſtponed until the Houſe ſhould have examined the papers that were the ſubject of the addreſs. He expreſſed his ſurprize, that a debt amounting to above five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be contracted in three years: he ſaid, he did not wonder that ſome perſons ſhould be ſo eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil liſt, ſince they and their friends enjoyed ſuch a ſhare of that revenue; and he deſired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they ſhould expect another reckoning? This gentleman began to be diſſatisfied with the meaſures of the miniſtry; and his ſarcaſms were aimed at Mr. Walpole, who under-

took to anſwer his objections. The Commons took the meſſage into conſideration, and paſſed a bill, enabling his Majeſty to raiſe a ſum, not exceeding one million, by Exchequer bills, loans, or otherwiſe, on the credit of the deductions of ſixpence per pound, directed by an act of Parliament of the ſeventh year of his Majeſty, and of the civil liſt revenues, at an intereſt not exceeding three pounds per cent. till repayment of the principal. CHAP. III. 1725.

§ XXIII. On the twentieth day of April, a petition was preſented to the Houſe by Lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late Viſcount Bolingbroke, praying that the execution of the law with reſpect to his forfeitures might be ſuſpended, as a pardon had ſuſpended it with reſpect to his life. Mr. Walpole ſignified to the Houſe, by his Majeſty's command, that, ſeven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and ſubmiſſion to the King, with aſſurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity: that, from his behaviour ſince that time, his Majeſty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy; and conſented to his petitioning the Houſe. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himſelf fully ſatisfied, that the petitioner had ſufficiently atoned for his paſt offences; and therefore deſerved the favour of that Houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was ſettled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his Majeſty's pardon, without an act of Parliament. Lord Finch moved, that a bill might be brought in for this purpoſe, and was warmly oppoſed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the houſehold, who repreſented Bolingbroke as a monſter of iniquity. His remonſtrance was ſupported by Lord William Paulet and Mr. Onſlow: nevertheleſs, the bill was prepared, paſſed through both Houſes, and received the royal aſſent. An act being paſſed for diſarming the Highlanders of Scotland; another for regulating elections within the city of London; a

BOOK II. 1725.

third for reducing the intereſt of ſeveral Bank annuities, together with ſome bills of a private nature, the Parliament was prorogued in May, after the King had, in the warmeſt terms of acknowledgment, expreſſed his approbation of their conduct. Then he appointed Lords-Juſtices to govern the nation in his abſence; and ſet out in June for his German dominions *.

§ XXIV. The tide of political intereſts on the continent had begun to flow in a new channel, ſo as to render ineffectual the mounds which his Britannick Majeſty had raiſed by his multiplicity of negociations. Louis, the Spaniſh Monarch, dying ſoon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip reſumed the crown which he had reſigned; and gave himſelf up implicitly to the conduct of his Queen, who was a Princeſs of indefatigable intrigue and inſatiate ambition. The Infanta, who had been married to Louis XV. of France, was ſo diſagreeable to her huſband, that the whole French nation began to be apprehenſive of a civil war, in conſequence of his dying without male iſſue: he therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to ſend back the Infanta as the nuptials had not been conſummated: and ſhe was attended to Madrid by the Marquis de Monteleone. The Queen of Spain reſented this inſult offered to her daughter; and, in revenge, diſmiſſed Mademoiſelle de Beaujolois, one of the Regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her ſon Don Carlos. As the congreſs at Cambray had proved ineffectual, ſhe offered to

* On the fifth day of December the Princeſs of Wales was delivered of a Princeſs, chriſtened by the name of Louiſa, and afterwards married to the King of Denmark. She died December the nineteenth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-one.

Immediately after the Seſſion of Parliament, the King revived the Order of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the Sovereign.

William Bateman was created Baron of Calmore in Ireland, and Viſcount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived Knights of the Bath, was now honoured with the Order of the Garter.

adjuſt

adjuſt her differences with the Emperor, under the ſole mediation of Great-Britain. This was an honour which King George declined. He was averſe to any undertaking that might interrupt the harmony ſubſiſting between him and the court of Verſailles; and he had taken umbrage at the Emperor's refuſing to grant the inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden except upon terms which he did not chooſe to embrace. The peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, which he refuſed to mediate, was effected by a private negociation, under the management of the Duke de Ripperda, a native of the States-General, who had renounced the Proteſtant religion, and entered into the ſervice of his Catholick Majeſty. By two treaties, ſigned at Vienna in the month of April, the Emperor acknowledged Philip as King of Spain and the Indies, promiſed that he would not moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions that were ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretenſions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the Emperor by the treaty of London: Charles granted the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of the Queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the preſent poſſeſſors, as maſculine fiefs of the Empire. Spain became guarantee of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, according to the pragmatick ſanction, by which the dominions of that Houſe were ſettled on the Emperor's heirs general, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparable feoffment to the primogeniture. By the commercial treaty of Vienna, the Auſtrian ſubjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which no other nation enjoyed. His Catholic Majeſty guaranteed the Oſtend Eaſt-India company; and agreed to pay an annual ſubſidy of four millions of piaſtres to the Emperor. Great ſums were remitted to Vienna: the Imperial forces were augmented to a formidable number; and other

CHAP. III. 1725.

powers

BOOK II. powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Petersburgh actually acceded.

1725. § XXV. The King of Great-Britain took the alarm. The Emperor and he had for some time treated each other with manifest coolness. He had reason to fear some attempts upon his German dominions; and projected a defensive treaty with France and Prussia. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years was negociated and concluded at Hanover, in the month of September. It implied a mutual guarantee of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagment to procure satisfaction to the Protestants of Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the Catholicks, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. The King having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The Parliament meeting on the twentieth day of the next month, he gave them to understand that the distressed condition of some of their Protestant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the further progress of such dangerous designs. He told them, that the enemies of his government were already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries in those courts whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the Pretender.

tender. One ſees, at firſt ſight, that the intereſts of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to ſecure the approbation of Great-Britain, upon which the ſupport of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged neceſſary to inſert the articles relating to commerce and the Proteſtant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England. In a word, the miniſtry began now to ring the changes upon a few words that have been repeated ever ſince, like cabaliſtical ſounds, by which the nation has been enchanted into a very dangerous connection with the concerns of the continent. They harangued, they inſiſted upon the machinations of the diſaffected, the deſigns of a Popiſh Pretender, the Proteſtant intereſt, and the balance of power, until theſe expreſſions became abſolutely terms of ridicule with every perſon of common ſenſe and reflection. The people were told, that the Emperor and the King of Spain, excluſive of the publick treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing, that the Imperialiſts ſhould join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port-Mahon by force of arms, in caſe the King of England ſhould refuſe to reſtore them amicably, according to a ſolemn promiſe he had made: that a double marriage ſhould take place between the two Infants of Spain, and the two Archducheſſes of Auſtria; and that means ſhould be taken to place the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain.

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§ XXVI. When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under conſideration of the Houſe of Commons, Horatio Walpole, afterwards termed, in deriſion, "the balance maſter," opened the debate with a long unanimated oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe ſince the treaty of Utrecht. He enumerated the barrier treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defenſive alliance with the emperor, the other with the Moſt Chriſtian King

BOOK II. 1725. King and the States-General, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congreſs at Cambray, the treaty at Hanover, and that of Vienna. He explained the nature of each engagement. He ſaid, the main deſign of the treaty of commerce concluded between the Emperor and Spain, was to countenance and ſupport the Eaſt-India company eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, which interfered ſo eſſentially with the Eaſt-India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to ſeveral ſolemn treaties ſtill in force. He enlarged upon the danger to which the balance of power would be expoſed, ſhould the iſſue-male of this projected marriage between the Houſes of Auſtria and Spain ever poſſeſs the Imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. The reader will take notice, that this very man was one of thoſe who exclaimed againſt that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which prevented the power of thoſe two Houſes from being immediately united in the perſon of the Emperor. He did not forget to expatiate upon the pretended ſecret engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca; and the King's pious concern for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of Thorn in Poland. In vain did Mr. Shippen urge, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of the King's German dominions, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made in the act of limitation. Theſe arguments had loſt all weight. The oppoſition was ſo inconſiderable, that the miniſtry had no reaſon to be in pain about any meaſure they ſhould propoſe. An addreſs was voted and delivered to his Majeſty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain: and promiſing to ſupport his Majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks that ſhould be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain.

tain. An addreſs of the ſame kind was preſented by the Houſe of Lords in a body. A bill was brought in, empowering the commiſſioners of the treaſury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden, late treaſurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the Crown, amounting to eight-and-forty thouſand pounds. This deficiency was occaſioned by his embarking in the South-Sea ſcheme. The King recommended his petition; and the Houſe complied with his requeſt, in conſideration of his great grandfather, the famous John Hampden, who made ſuch a noble ſtand againſt the arbitrary meaſures of the firſt Charles.

§ XXVII. The malt-tax was found ſo grievous to Scotland, that the people refuſed to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom. At Glaſgow, the populace, armed with clubs and ſtaves, rifled the houſe of Daniel Campbell, their repreſentative in Parliament, who had voted for the bill; and maltreated ſome exciſemen, who, attempted to take an account of the malt. General Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had ſent two companies of ſoldiers, under the command of Captain Buſhel, to prevent or appeaſe a diſturbance of this nature. That officer drew up his men in the ſtreet, where they were pelted with ſtones by the multitude, which he endeavoured to diſperſe by firing, among them without ſhot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with ball, and at a time when the magiſtrates were advancing towards him in a body, to aſſiſt him with their advice and influence, he commanded the ſoldiers to fire four different ways, without the ſanction of the civil authority. Above twenty perſons were killed or wounded on this occaſion. The people ſeeing ſo many victims fall, were exaſperated beyond all ſenſe of danger. They began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Buſhel thought proper to retreat to the caſtle of Dumbarton;

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Dumbarton; and was purſued above five miles by the enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this tranſaction, aſſembled a body of forces; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, Lord-advocate, took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow. The magiſtrates were apprehended, and conveyed priſoners to Edinburgh, where the Lords Juſticiary having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent; ſo that they were immediately diſcharged. Buſhel was tried for murther, convicted, and condemned: but, inſtead of undergoing the penalties of the law, he was indulged with a pardon, and promoted in the ſevice. Daniel Campbell having petitioned to the Houſe of Commons, that he might be indemnified for the damage he had ſuſtained from the rioters, a bill paſſed in his favour, granting him a certain ſum, to be raiſed from an impoſition laid upon all the beer and ale brewed in the city of Glaſgow. The malt tax was ſo ſenſibly felt in Scotland, than the convention of the royal burghs preſented a remonſtrance againſt it, as a grievous burthen, which their country could not bear: petitions to the ſame purpoſe were delivered to the Commons from different ſhires of that kingdom*. On the twenty-fourth day of March, the King ſent a meſſage to the Houſe by Sir Paul Methuen, deſiring an extraordinary ſupply, that he might be able to augment his maritime force, and concert ſuch other meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture. A debate enſued; but the majority complied with the demand. Some members in the Upper Houſe complained that the

Oldmixon. Annals. Deb. in Parliament. Hiſt. Mem. Tindal.

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* The Duke of Wharton having conſumed his fortune in riot and extravagance, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his ſervice to the Pretender. There he received the Order of the Garter, and the title of Duke of Northumberland. He was ſent by the Chevalier de St. George with credentials to the court of Madrid, where he abjured the Proteſtant religion, married a lady of the Queen of Spain's bed-chamber, and obtained the rank and appointment of a Lieutenant Colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice.

meſſage

meſſage was not ſent to both Houſes of Parliament, and this ſuggeſtion gave riſe to another debate, in which Lord Bathurſt and others made ſome melancholy reflexions upon the ſtate of inſignificance to which the Peers of England were reduced. Such remarks, however, were very little minded by the miniſtry; who had obtained a complete victory over all oppoſition. The ſupplies, ordinary and extraordinary, being granted, with every thing elſe which the court thought proper to aſk, and ſeveral bills paſſed for the regulation of civil œconomy, the King diſmiſſed the Parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May. CHAP. III. 1726.

§ XXVIII. By this time Peter the Czar of Muſcovy was dead, and his empreſs Catherine had ſucceeded him on the Ruſſian throne. This Princeſs had begun to aſſemble forces in the neighbourhood of Peterſburgh; and to prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George, concluding that her deſign was againſt Sweden, ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the Baltick, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to anticipate her views upon his allies. The Engliſh fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Daniſh ſquadron, alarmed the court of Ruſſia, which immediately iſſued orders for reinforcing the garriſons of Wibourg, Cronſtot, Revel, and Riga. The Engliſh admiral, having had an audience of his Swediſh Majeſty, ſteered towards Revel, and ſent thither a lieutenant, with a letter from the King of Great Britain to the Czarina. This was an expoſtulation, in which his Majeſty obſerved, that he and his Allies could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by ſea and land. He complained that meaſures had been taken at her court in favour of the Pretender: that his repeated inſtances for eſtabliſhing a laſting friendſhip with the crown of Ruſſia had been treated with neglect; and he gave her to underſtand, that he had ordered his admiral to

prevent

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vent her ſhips from coming out of her harbours, ſhould ſhe perſiſt in her reſolution to execute the deſigns ſhe had projected. The Czarina, in her anſwer to the King, expreſſed her ſurpriſe, that ſhe had not received his Majeſty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, ſince it would have been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and to the amity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great-Britain, to expoſtulate with her on her armament, and expect her anſwer, before he had proceeded to ſuch an offenſive meaſure. She aſſured him that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any deſigns to diſturb the peace of the North; and with regard to the Pretender, it was a frivolous and ſtale accuſation, which had been frequently uſed as a pretext to cover all the unkind ſteps lately taken againſt the Ruſſian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his ſtation until he received certain intelligence that the Ruſſian gallies were laid up in their winter harbour: then he ſet ſail for the coaſt of Denmark, from whence he returned to England in the month of November.

§ XXIX. King George, that he might not ſeem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the North, had equipped two other ſquadrons: one of which was deſtined for the Weſt Indies, under the command of Admiral Hoſier: the other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land-forces, ſailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio, then viſited Liſbon, from whence he directed his courſe to the Bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruiſed off Cape St. Mary's, ſo as to alarm the coaſt of Spain, and fill Madrid with conſternation. Yet he committed no act of hoſtility: but was treated with great civility by the Spaniſh governor of Cadiz, who ſupplied him with refreſhments. Rear-Admiral Hoſier, with ſeven ſhips of war, had ſailed in April for the Spaniſh Weſt-

West-Indies, with instructions to block up the galleons in the port of that country; or, should they presume to come out, to seize and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Bastimentos, near Porto-Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded, and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice-boat, which had the start of Hosier. This admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards. He returned to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crews; then he stood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-Sea ship at La Vera-Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hosier in vain demanded restitution: he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruising in those seas until the greater part of his men perished deplorably by the diseases of that unhealthy climate and his ships were totally ruined by the worms. This brave officer being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamoured against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended, without the least advantage to the nation. It seems to have been a mean, piratical scheme to rob the court of Spain of its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations. The ministry of Great-Britain indeed alledged, that the Spanish King had entered into engagements in favour of the Pretender. CHAP. III. 1726.

§ XXX. The Dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the Earl Marischal, were certainly at Madrid; and the Duke de Ripperda, now prime-minister of Spain, dropped some expressions to the English en-

BOOK II 1726.

voy, that implied ſome ſuch deſign, which, however, the court of Madrid poſitively denied. Ripperda, as a foreigner, fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of the Spaniſh miniſters. He was ſuddenly diſmiſſed from his employments, with a penſion of three thouſand piſtoles. He forthwith took refuge in the houſe of Vandermeer the Dutch ambaſſador, who was unwilling to be troubled with ſuch a gueſt. He therefore conveyed the Duke in his coach to the houſe of Colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh miniſter, whoſe protection he craved and obtained. Nevertheleſs, he was dragged from thence by force, and committed priſoner to the caſtle of Segovia. He afterwards made his eſcape, and ſheltered himſelf in England, from the reſentment of his Catholick Majeſty. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spaniſh miniſters endeavoured to excuſe. Memorials and letters paſſed between the two courts; and every thing tended to a rupture. The King of Spain purchaſed ſhips of war; began to make preparations for ſome important undertaking; and aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the old caſtle of Gibraltar. Meanwhile the States-General and the King of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover: but the King of Pruſſia, though his Majeſty's ſon-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the Emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements.

§ XXXI. On the ſeventeenth day of January, the Britiſh Parliament was opened with a long, elaborate ſpeech, importing that the proceedings and tranſactions of the Emperor and King of Spain, and the ſecret offenſive alliance concluded between them had laid the foundation of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and darling intereſts and privileges of the Engliſh nation, which muſt either give up Gibraltar to Spain and acquieſce in the Emperor's

Emperor's uſurped exerciſe of commerce, or reſolve vigorouſly to defend their undoubted rights againſt thoſe reciprocal engagements, contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the moſt ſolemn treaties. He aſſured them, that one of thoſe ſecret articles was, the placing the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain: and another the conqueſt of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. He affirmed that thoſe combinations extended themſelves into Ruſſia; and that the Engliſh fleet ſeaſonably prevented ſuch deſigns as would have opened a way to the invaſion of theſe kingdoms. He exhorted the Commons to grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the defence of their country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great-Britain. He told them, that the King of Spain had ordered his miniſter reſiding in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial little ſhort of a declaration, in which he inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar. He did not fail to touch the energetick ſtrings which always moved their paſſions; the balance of power in Europe, the ſecurity of the Britiſh commerce, the deſigns of a Popiſh Pretender, the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a Proteſtant people. Such addreſſes of thanks were penned in both Houſes as the miniſters were pleaſed to dictate: yet not without oppoſition from a minority, which was far from being formidable, though headed by chiefs of uncommon talents and reſolution. The Commons voted twenty thouſand ſeamen, beſides ſix-and-twenty thouſand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land-ſervice; and, to defray the extraordinary expence, a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound was granted.

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§ XXXII. The Houſe of Lords having taken into conſideration the letters and memorials between the miniſters of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the acceſſion of the States-

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General to the treaty of Hanover, a warm debate enſued. Lord Bathurſt took notice, that the acceſſion of the States-General to the treaty was upon condition that this their act ſhould be approved and ratified by the King of Great-Britain, the moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of Pruſſia; but that the miniſter of his Pruſſian Majeſty had refuſed to ſign the act of acceſſion, which was therefore of no effect: that if the court of France ſhould, for the ſame reaſon, think itſelf diſengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expenſive war againſt two of the greateſt potentates of Europe. He ſaid he could not ſee any juſt reaſon for a rupture with Spain: that indeed the Duke de Ripperda might have dropped ſome indiſcreet expreſſions; he was known to be a man of violent temper; and he had been ſolemnly diſavowed by his Catholick Majeſty: that, in the memorial left by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, he imputed the violent ſtate of affairs between the two Crowns to the miniſters of England; and mentioned a poſitive promiſe made by the King of Great-Britain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried, before the kingdom engaged in a war which muſt be attended with dangerous conſequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain ſuch a war, would be obliged to raiſe ſeven millions yearly; an annual ſum by which the people would ſoon be exhauſted. He obſerved, that in ſome papers laid before the Houſe, mention was made of great ſums diſtributed in divers places, to bring certain meaſures to bear. He declared, that for his own part, he had touched neither Spaniſh nor Engliſh gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman, and ſo long as he had the honour to ſit in that Houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country. He therefore, deſired their Lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider

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ſider the matter before them, which was of the laſt conſequence and importance to the whole nation. He ſaid nothing could be gained by the war, ſhould it prove ſucceſsful: and every thing would be loſt ſhould it be unproſperous. He was anſwered by Lord Townſhend, who affirmed that his Majeſty had received poſitive and certain information with reſpect to the ſecret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the Pretender, though the ſafety of the State did not permit him to lay theſe advices before the Parliament. After much altercation, the majority reſolved, that the meaſures his Majeſty had thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagement entered into in favour of the Pretender: for preſerving the dominions belonging to the Crown of Great-Britain by ſolemn treaties, and particularly thoſe of Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen Lords entered a proteſt againſt this reſolution. Diſputes of the ſame nature aroſe from the ſame ſubject in the Lower Houſe. Lord Townſhend had affirmed in the Houſe of Peers, that no promiſe of reſtoring Gibraltar had been made: Sir Robert Walpole owned ſuch a promiſe in the Houſe of Commons: a motion was made for an addreſs, deſiring theſe engagements might be laid before the Houſe: another member moved for a copy of the memorial preſented by Mr. Pointz to the King of Sweden, and for the ſecret offenſive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made to addreſs the King for ſuch memorials and repreſentations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark, as induced him, in the courſe of the preceding year, to ſend a ſquadron to the Baltick. In

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the account of the money granted for the ſervice of the laſt year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds charged in general terms as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were ſpecified. Mr. Pulteney moved for an addreſs on this ſubject; but each of theſe motions was rejected on a diviſion: and the majority concurred in an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, for the great wiſdom of his conduct. They expreſſed the moſt implicit confidence in his goodneſs and diſcretion: they promiſed to ſupport him in all ſuch further meaſures as he ſhould find neceſſary and expedient, for preventing a rupture, as well as for conſulting the honour and advantage of theſe kingdoms.

§ XXXIII. His Majeſty's ſpeech gave ſuch umbrage to the court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the Imperial reſident at London, was ordered to preſent a warm memorial to the King and afterwards to publiſh it to the whole nation. In this bold remonſtrance, the King was charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, ſeveral things that were either wreſted, miſrepreſented, or void of all foundation. The memorialiſt affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the ſubjects of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations; and in no reſpect prejudicial to the Britiſh nation. He declared, that there was no offenſive alliance concluded between the two Crowns: that the ſuppoſed article relating to the Pretender was an abſolute falſehood: that the inſinuation with reſpect to the ſiege of Gibraltar was equally untrue, his maſter having made no engagements with the King of Spain but ſuch as were ſpecified in the treaty communicated to his Britannick Majeſty. He ſaid, however, the hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the Weſt-Indies, and elſewhere, againſt the King of Spain,

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Spain, in violation of treaties, ſeemed to juſtify that Prince's undertaking the ſiege of Gibraltar. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial Majeſty, ſuitable reparation for the injury his honour had ſuſtained from ſuch calumnious imputations. Both Houſes of Parliament expreſſed their indignation at the inſolence of this memorial, in an addreſs to his Majeſty; and Mr. Palms was ordered to depart the kingdom. Virulent declarations were preſented by the miniſters of the Emperor and the King of Great-Britain to the diet of the Empire at Ratiſbon; and ſuch perſonal reflexions retorted between theſe two potentates, that all hope of reconciliation vaniſhed.

§ XXXIV. King George, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the impending ſtorm, entered into more ſtrict engagements with the French King; and agreed to pay fifty thouſand pounds for three years to the King of Sweden, in conſideration of that Prince's holding in readineſs a body of ten thouſand troops for the occaſions of the alliance. He concluded a freſh treaty with the King of Denmark, who promiſed to furniſh a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large ſubſidy granted by the King of France. The proportions of troops to be ſent into the field in caſe of a rupture, were aſcertained. His Britannick Majeſty engaged for four-and-twenty thouſand men, and a ſtrong ſquadron to be ſent into the Baltick. He made a convention with the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who undertook to provide eight thouſand infantry, and four thouſand horſe, in conſideration of ſeventy-four thouſand pounds, to be paid by Great-Britain immediately, and fifty thouſand pounds more in caſe the troops ſhould be required, beſides their pay and ſubſiſtence. Such was the fruit of all the alliances ſo induſtriouſly planted ſince the acceſſion of King George to the throne of Great-Britain. In the day of his trouble, the King of Pruſſia, who had eſpouſed his daughter, deſerted

Annals. Deb. in Parliam. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

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deſerted his intereſt; and the States-General ſtood aloof. For the ſecurity of his German dominions, he had recourſe to the King of France, who was a precarious ally; to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Heſſe Caſſel: but none of theſe powers would contribute their aſſiſtance without being gratified with exorbitant ſubſidies, though the danger was common, and the efforts ought to have been equal. Inſtead of allies, they profeſſed themſelves mercenaries. Great-Britain paid them for the defence of their own dominions: ſhe, moreover, undertook to maintain a powerful fleet for their ſafety. Is there any Briton ſo weak as to think, or ſo fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a Britiſh quarrel?

An. 1727. § XXXV. For the ſupport of thoſe expenſive treaties, Mr. Scroope, ſecretary of the Treaſury, moved in the Houſe of Commons, that in the malt-tax bill they ſhould inſert a clauſe of appropriation, empowering the King to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been, or ſhould be made before the twenty-fifth day of September, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of trade, and reſtoring the peace of Europe. To litle purpoſe did the members in the oppoſition urge, that this method of aſking and granting ſupplies was unparliamentary: that ſuch a clauſe would render ineffectual that appropriation of the publick money, which the wiſdom of all Parliaments had thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt miſapplication, which was the more to be feared, as no proviſion was made to call any perſon to account for the money that ſhould be diſpoſed of by virtue of this clauſe: that great ſums had already been granted: that ſuch an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government: that ſuch confidence in the Crown might, through the influence of evil miniſters be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences:

consequences: that the constitution could not be preserved, but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publickly avowed and judged necessary: that such clauses, if not seasonably checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the Crown and in the ministers, an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people, which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature. The motion was carried, the clause added, and the bill passed through the other House without amendment, though not without opposition. Notwithstanding this vote of credit, Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the King, the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds should be raised by loans on Exchequer-Bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the Parliament's disposal. Though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of Parliament, by which the exceedings of the publick funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking-funds, it was carried by the majority. CHAP. III. 1727.

§ XXXVI. On the fifteenth day of May the Parliament was prorogued, after the King had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and dispatch; and given them to understand, that the siege of Gibraltar was actually begun. The trenches were opened before this fortress on the eleventh day of February, by the Conde de las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old Earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity

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quantity of ammunition, warlike ſtores, and four-and-twenty pieces of cannon. At the ſame time, five hundred men arrived from Minorca; ſo that the garriſon amounted to ſix thouſand, plentifully ſupplied with freſh proviſions from the coaſt of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the beſiegers with great contempt. The States-General, being apprehenſive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, deſired the King would hold in readineſs the ten thouſand auxiliaries ſtipulated in the treaty. Theſe were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raiſed companies. Sir John Norris ſet ſail with a powerful fleet for the Baltick, and was joined by a Daniſh ſquadron: but the Czarina dying on the ſeventeenth day of May he had no occaſion to commit hoſtilities, as the Ruſſian armament was laid aſide.

§ XXXVII. Meanwhile the powers at variance, though extremely irritated againſt each other, were all equally averſe to a war that might again embroil all Europe. The King of France interpoſed his mediation, which was conducted by the Duke de Richlieu, his ambaſſador at Vienna. Plans and counterplans of pacification were propoſed between the two Crowns and the allies. At length, all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were ſigned in May at Paris, by the miniſters of the Hanoverian alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the Imperial and Spaniſh ambaſſadors. Theſe imported, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe: that the charter of the Oſtend company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years: and that a congreſs ſhould in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjuſting all differences, and conſolidating the peace of Europe. This congreſs was afterwards transferred to Soiſſons, for the conveniency of the French miniſter, whoſe preſence was neceſſary at court. The ſiege of Gibraltar was raiſed, after it had laſted four

months, during which the Spaniards loſt a great number of men by ſickneſs, while the garriſon ſuſtained very little damage. The court of Madrid, however, ſtarted ſome new difficulties, and for ſome time would not conſent to the reſtitution of the South-Sea ſhip, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the Weſt-Indies; ſo that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruiſe on the coaſt of Spain: but theſe objections were removed in the ſequel. CHAP. III. 1727.

§ XXXVIII. King George, having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich, on the third day of June, and landing in Holland on the ſeventh, ſet out on his journey to Hanover. He was ſuddenly ſeized with a paralytick diſorder on the road: he forthwith loſt the faculty of ſpeech, became lethargick, and was conveyed in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnabruck. There he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign.—George I. was plain and ſimple in his perſon and addreſs; grave and compoſed in his deportment, though eaſy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he aſcended the throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumſpect general, a juſt and merciful Prince, a wiſe politician, who perfectly underſtood, and ſteadily purſued, his own intereſt. With theſe qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well diſpoſed to govern his new ſubjects according to the maxims of the Britiſh conſtitution, and the genius of the people; and if ever he ſeemed to deviate from theſe principles, we may take it for granted, that he was miſled by the venal ſuggeſtions of a miniſtry whoſe power and influence were founded on corruption*.

* George I. married the Princeſs Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heireſs of the Duke of Zell, by whom he had King George II. and the late Queen of Pruſſia. The King's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his anceſtors. From the death of Charles II. to this period, England had made a conſiderable figure in every branch of literature. Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clarke diſtinguiſhed themſelves

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selves in divinity—Mr. Whiston wrote in defence of Arianism—John Locke shone forth the great restorer of human reason—the Earl of Shaftsbury raised an elegant, though feeble, system of moral philosophy—Berkley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety and variety in metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction—Lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphysician have been questioned since his posthumous works appeared—great progress was made in mathematicks and astronomy, by Wallis, Halley, and Flamstead—the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the classical Dr. Friend, and the elegant Dr. Mead. Among the poets of this æra we number John Philips, author of a didactick poem, called Cyder, a performance of real merit; he lived and died in obscurity—William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance, and regularity—Vanburgh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with far less art and precision—Steele, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama—Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue—Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate; though he yielded to none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter—Swift, whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy, he was a cynick rather than a poet, and his natural dryness and sarcastick severity would have been unpleasing, had not he qualified them, by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais—Prior, lively, familiar, and amusing—Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory. Pope, the Prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethicks, and polished versification—the agreeable Parnel—the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth—Gay, whose fables may vie with those of La Fontaine, in native humour, ease, and simplicity, and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Dr. Bentley stood foremost in the list of criticks and commentators. Sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture. The most remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

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§ I. *George* II. *aſcends the throne of Great-Britain.* § II. *Characters of the principal perſons concerned in the miniſtry.* § III. *Debates in Parliament concerning the civil-liſt.* § IV. *Changes and promotions.* § V. *New Parliament.* § VI. *Violent diſpute concerning the national debt.* § VII. *Vote of credit.* § VIII. *A double marriage between the Houſes of Spain and Portugal.* § IX. *Liberality of the Commons.* § X. *Debates on the ſubſidies of Heſſe-Caſſel and Wolfenbuttle.* § XI. *Committee for inſpecting the gaols.* § XII. *Addreſs touching the Spaniſh depredations.* § XIII. *A ſum voted to the King on account of arrears due on the civil-liſt revenue.* § XIV. *Proceedings in the Houſe of Lords.* § XV. *Wiſe conduct of the Iriſh Parliament.* § XVI. *Abdication of the King of Sardinia. Death of Pope Benedict* XIII. § XVII. *Subſtance of the King's ſpeech to both Houſes.* § XVIII. *Objections to the treaty of Seville in the Houſe of Lords.* § XIX. *Oppoſition in the Lower Houſe to a ſtanding army.* § XX. *Bill prohibiting loans to foreign Princes or States.* § XXI. *Charter of the Eaſt-India Company prolonged.* § XXII. *The Emperor reſents the treaty of Seville.* § XXIII. *Seven Indian Chiefs arrive in England. Revolution at Conſtantinople.* § XXIV. *England infeſted with robbers, aſſaſſins, and incendiaries.* § XXV. *Bill againſt penſioners, ſitting as members in the Houſe of Commons.* § XXVI. *Treaty of Vienna.* § XXVII. *Death of the Duke of Parma.* § XXVIII. *Don Carlos takes poſſeſſion of his territories.* § XXIX. *France diſtracted by religious diſputes.* § XXX. *The miniſtry violently oppoſed in parliament.* § XXXI. *Debate on a ſtanding army.* § XXXII. *Account of the Charitable Corporation.* § XXXIII. *Revival of*

the ſalt-tax. § XXXIV. *Mr. Pulteney's name ſtruck out of the liſt of Privy-counſellors.* § XXXV. *The King ſets out for Hanover.*

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§ I. AT the acceſſion of George II. the nation had great reaſon to wiſh for an alteration of meaſures. The publick debt notwithſtanding the boaſted œconomy and management of the miniſters; notwithſtanding the ſinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treaſure ſacred to the diſcharge of national incumbrances, was now increaſed to fifty millions two hundred ſixty-one thouſand two hundred and ſix pounds nineteen ſhillings, eight pence three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it ſtood engaged in pecuniary ſubſidies to many powers upon the continent, with whom its real intereſts could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been laviſhed upon thoſe foreign connexions, upon unneceſſary wars, and fruitleſs expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the conſtitution, by the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments: by frequent ſuſpenſions of the Habeas Corpus act upon frivolous occaſions; by repealing clauſes in the act of ſettlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a ſtanding army; and, above all, by eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of corruption, which at all times would ſecure a majority in Parliament. The nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been often endangered, was now ſo well underſtood, and ſo ſecurely reſtrained, that it could no longer be uſed for the ſame oppreſſive purpoſes: beſides, an avowed extenſion of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and reſolution, than the preſent miniſtry could exert. They underſtood their own ſtrength, and had recourſe to a more ſafe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and proſtitution of the age, the almoſt total extinction of ſentiment, honour



I.Heath sculp.t

Published Septemberr 13.th 1790. by T.Cadell & R.Baldwin.

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nour, and publick ſpirit, had prepared the minds of men for ſlavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the miniſtry; the publick treaſure was at their devotion: they multiplied places and penſions, to increaſe the number of their dependants: they ſquandered away the money of the nation without taſte, diſcernment, decency, or remorſe: they inliſted an army of the moſt abandoned emiſſaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worſt meaſures, in the face of truth, common ſenſe, and common honeſty; and they did not fail to ſtigmatiſe as Jacobites, and enemies to the government, all thoſe who preſumed to queſtion the merit of their adminiſtration.

§ II. The ſupreme direction of affairs was not yet engroſſed by a ſingle miniſter. Lord Townſhend had the reputation of conducting the external tranſactions relating to treaties and negociations. He is ſaid to have underſtood that province, though he did not always follow the dictates of his own underſtanding. He poſſeſſed an extenſive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The Duke of N. his colleague, was not remarkable for any of theſe qualifications: he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover, and to the ſtrength of his intereſt in Parliament, rather than to his judgment, preciſion, or any other intellectual merit. Lord C. who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the adminiſtration, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the character of envoy at ſeveral courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different intereſts and connexions ſubſiſting among the powers of the continent; and he infinitely ſurpaſſed all the miniſters in learning and capacity. He was, indeed, the only man of genius employed under this government. He ſpoke with eaſe and propriety, his conceptions were juſt and lively: his inferences bold; his counſels

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ſels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents, by acting in a ſubordinate character to thoſe whom he deſpiſed; and ſeemed to look upon the pernicious meaſures of a bad miniſtry with ſilent contempt, rather than with avowed deteſtation. The interior government of Great-Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert W. a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raiſed himſelf to the head of the Treaſury. Having obtained a ſeat in the Lower Houſe, he declared himſelf one of the moſt forward partiſans of the Whig faction. He was endued with a ſpecies of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was ſo plauſible on all ſubjects, that even when he miſrepreſented the truth, whether from ignorance or deſign, he ſeldom failed to perſuade that part of his audience for whoſe hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the publick funds, and underſtood the whole myſtery of ſtock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion between him and the money-corporations, which ſerved to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a ſordid thirſt of lucre: he had ſagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole ſuperſtructure of his ſubſequent adminiſtration. In the late reign he had, by dint of ſpeaking deciſively to every queſtion, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the Tory miniſters, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the ſchemes of the monied-intereſt, become a leading member in the Houſe of Commons. By his ſufferings under the Tory Parliament, he attained the rank of a martyr to his party: his intereſt, his reputation, and his preſumption daily increaſed: he oppoſed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the miniſtry, which evinced the greatneſs of his influence

fluence and authority. He had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late King and the Prince of Wales: then he was re-aſſociated in the adminiſtration with additional credit; and, from the death of the Earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long ſtrides towards the office of prime-miniſter. He knew the maxims he had adopted would ſubject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of ſome individuals, who had not yet reſigned all ſentiments of patriotiſm, nor all views of oppoſition: but the number of theſe was inconſiderable, when compared to that which conſtituted the body of the community; and he would not ſuffer the conſideration of ſuch antagoniſts to come in competition with his ſchemes of power, affluence and authority. Nevertheleſs, low as he had humbled anti-miniſterial aſſociation, it required all his arifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm to bear, the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen ſatire that was exerciſed againſt his meaſures and management, by a few members in the oppoſition. Sir William Wyndham poſſeſſed all the energy of elocution: Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, ſhrewd and ſarcaſtick: Mr. W. P. inherited from nature a good underſtanding, which he had ſtudiouſly cultivated. He was one of the moſt learned members in the Houſe of Commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions; well read in hiſtory and politicks; deeply ſkilled in the Britiſh conſtitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances. He ſpoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was ſaid to be the effect of perſonal animoſity to Sir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

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§ III. An expreſs arriving on the fourteenth day of June, with an account of the King's death, his late Majeſty King George II. repaired from Rich-

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mond, where he received this intelligence, to Leiceſter-Houſe; and the members of the privy-council being aſſembled, were ſworn a-new. The King declared his firm purpoſe to preſerve the conſtitution in Church and State, and to cultivate thoſe alliances which his father had made with foreign Princes. At the ſame time, he took and ſubſcribed the oath for the ſecurity of the Church of Scotland, as required by the Act of Union. Next day he was proclaimed King of Great-Britain. The Parliament aſſembled in purſuance of the act made for that purpoſe; but was immediately prorogued by commiſſion to the twenty-ſeventh day of the month. All the great officers of ſtate continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept poſſeſſion of the Treaſury; and the ſyſtem of politicks which the late King had eſtabliſhed, underwent no ſort of alteration. The King, in his ſpeech to both Houſes at the opening of the ſeſſion, profeſſed a fixed reſolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promiſed to leſſen the publick expence as ſoon as the circumſtances of affairs would permit: he obſerved to the Commons, that the grant of the greateſt part of the civil-liſt revenues was now determined; and that it would be neceſſary for them to make a new proviſion for the ſupport of him and his family: laſtly he recommended it to both Houſes to diſpatch the buſineſs that ſhould be neceſſarily brought before them, as the ſeaſon of the year and the circumſtances of time required their preſence in the country. Addreſſes of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and preſented, the Commons, in a committee of the whole Houſe, took into conſideration a motion for a ſupply to his Majeſty. Sir Robert Walpole having obſerved, that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds granted to, and ſettled on the late King, had fallen ſhort every year; and that his

preſent Majeſty's expences were likely to increaſe, by reaſon of the largeneſs of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil-liſt, which produced about eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum, ſhould be ſettled on the King during his life. Mr. Shippen oppoſed this motion, as inconſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in them as repreſentatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exerciſing the right of giving away the publick money. He ſaid, the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds was not obtained for his late Majeſty without a long and ſolemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time, allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: that, although his Majeſty's family ſhould be enlarged, a circumſtance which had been urged as one reaſon for the motion, he preſumed the appointments of Prince Frederick would be much inferior to thoſe ſettled on his preſent Majeſty when he was Prince of Wales: beſides, it was to be hoped that many perſonal, many particular expences in the late reign, eſpecially thoſe for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be diſcontinued, and entirely ceaſe. He obſerved, that the civil-liſt branches in the Queen's reign did not often exceed the ſum of five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; nevertheleſs, ſhe called upon her Parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and theſe were occaſioned by the unparalleled inſtances of her piety and generoſity. She gave the firſt-fruits and tenths, ariſing to nineteen thouſand pounds a-year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She beſtowed five thouſand pounds per annum, out of the Poſt-Office, on the Duke of Marlborough: ſhe ſuffered ſeven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the ſame office, for the ſervice of the publick: ſhe expended ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds in building the caſtle of Blenheim, ſhe allowed four thouſand pounds annually to Prince Charles of Denmark:

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mark: she sustained great losses by the tin contract: she supported the poor Palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty: and immediately before her death she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds. He affirmed, that a million a-year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, so often and so justly complained of in the House of Commons: that over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulf of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion: then the two Insurance-Offices were erected, and paid near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that Crown: four-and-twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the publick safety, were afterwards privately sold: a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded, and granted, for paying the debts of the civil-list; and his Majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expences for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new incumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which Admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the publick utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government,

vernment, amounting to above ſix hundred thou- CHAP. IV.
ſand pounds. He took notice, that this amazing 1727.
extravagance happened under the conduct of perſons pretending to ſurpaſs all their predeceſſors in the knowledge and care of the publick revenue: that as none of theſe ſums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in ſervices not fit to be owned. He ſaid, he heartily wiſhed that time, the great diſcoverer of hidden truths, and concealed iniquities, might produce a liſt of all ſuch as had been perverted from their publick duty by private penſions: who had been the hired ſlaves and the corrupt inſtruments of a profuſe and vain-glorious adminiſtration. He propoſed, that, inſtead of granting an addition to the civil-liſt, they ſhould reſtrict that revenue to a certain ſum, by concluding the queſtion with theſe words, "in like manner as they "were granted and continued to his late Majeſty, "ſo as to make up the clear yearly ſum of ſeven "hundred thouſand pounds." To theſe particulars which were indeed unanſwerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aſide, as idle and ſuperfluous. The Houſe agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better ſupport of his Majeſty's houſehold. The Commons having received a meſſage from the King, deſiring they would make further proviſion for the Queen his conſort, reſolved, That in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his Majeſty, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil-liſt, together with his Majeſty's palace of Somerſet-houſe, and Richmond Old-park. A bill was formed on this reſolution, which, as well as the other, paſſed both Houſes; and received the royal aſſent on the ſeventeenth day of July, when the King, in a ſpeech to both Houſes, expreſſed his ſatisfaction with their conduct; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired ſuch weight in holding the

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balance of Europe. Then the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the twenty-ninth day of Auguſt; but on the ſeventh of that month a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving this, and convoking another.

§ IV. In the interim ſome changes were made in different departments of civil œconomy. Lord Viſcount Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty: the Earl of Weſtmorland was appointed firſt lord-commiſſioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Cheſterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and poliſhed manners, was nominated ambaſſador to the Hague. The privy-council being diſſolved, another was appointed of the members then preſent. The Duke of Devonſhire was dignified with the place of preſident; and the Duke of St. Alban's was appointed maſter of the horſe. On the eleventh day of October the coronation of the King and Queen was performed at Weſtminſter-Abbey, with the uſual ſolemnity *. By this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled: all Europe was freed from the calamities of war; and the peace of Great-Britain ſuffered no interruption, except from ſome tranſient tumults among the tinners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a ſcarcity of corn, roſe in arms, and plundered the granaries of that county.

§ V. The elections in England and Scotland for the Parliament having ſucceeded on the new ſyſtem, according to the wiſhes of the miniſtry, the two

* King George II. aſcended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. On the ſecond day of September, 1705, he eſpouſed the Princeſs Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburgh Anſpach, by whom he had two ſons, Frederick Louis Prince of Wales, born at Hanover, on the thirty-firſt day of January, 1707, and William Auguſtus, born at London, on the fifteenth day of April, 1721. She had likewiſe borne four Princeſſes, namely, Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louiſa, married in the ſequel to the King of Denmark.

Houſes

Houſes met on the twenty-third day of January, when the Commons unanimouſly choſe for their Speaker Arthur Onſlow, Eſquire, Knight of the Shire for Surrey, a gentleman of extenſive knowledge, worth, and probity; grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the diſcharge of that honourable and important office. The King, in his ſpeech to this new Parliament, declared, that, by the laſt advices from abroad, he had reaſon to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congreſs, would ſoon be entirely removed: in the mean time, he repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of continuing the preparation which had hitherto ſecured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe. He promiſed, that his firſt care ſhould be to reduce, from time to time, the expence of the publick, as often, and as ſoon as the intereſt and ſafety of his people would permit ſuch reduction. He expreſſed an earneſt deſire of ſeeing the foundation laid of an effectual ſcheme for the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the ſervice of their country. Finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch of the publick buſineſs. Thoſe ſpeeches, penned by the miniſter, were compoſed with a view to ſoothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the meaſures of the government; but without any intention of performing thoſe promiſes of œconomy, reformation, and national advantage. The two Houſes ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of applauſe and affection to his Majeſty. The Lords, in their addreſs, hailed him as the beſt of Kings, and true Father of his country. The Commons expreſſed the warmeſt ſenſe of gratitude for the bleſſings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his tranſactions; promiſed to ſupport him in all his undertakings;

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dertakings; and declared they would cheerfully grant whatever ſupplies ſhould be wanted for the publick ſervice. Having conſidered the eſtimates which were laid before them by order of his Majeſty, they voted two-and-twenty thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garriſons; and fifteen thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thouſand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops; a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds to the King of Sweden; and half that ſum to the Duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel*. The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raiſed by a land tax of three ſhillings in the pound, a malt tax, and by borrowing of the Bank one million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for which annuities to the amount of ſeventy thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by duties on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

§ VI. All theſe ſums, however, were not granted without queſtion. The number of land forces occaſioned a debate; and the Heſſian auxiliaries, were not allowed without diſpute and oppoſition. When they deliberated on the loan of the Bank, Mr. W. Pulteney obſerved, that the ſhifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithſtanding the great merit which ſome perſons had built on the ſinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increaſed ſince the ſetting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation paſſed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this ſubject. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, pre-

* Nothing could be a greater burleſque upon negociation than this treaty of alliance concluded with the petty Duke of Wolfenbuttell, who very gravely guarantees to his Britannick Majeſty the poſſeſſion of his three kingdoms, and obliges himſelf to ſupply his Majeſty with five thouſand men, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of five-and-twenty thouſand pounds for four years:

ſented

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ſented a petition, ſetting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm, imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burthen was a great diſcouragement to their manufactures, and an hardſhip upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax impoſed. The Houſe having addreſſed the King for a particular and diſtinct account of the diſtribution of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, charged to have been iſſued for ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preſerving and reſtoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their requeſt, but ſignified in general, that part of the money had been iſſued and diſburſed by his late Majeſty, and the remainder by himſelf, for carrying on the ſame neceſſary ſervices, which required the greateſt ſecreſy. Such a meſſage in the reign of King William would have raiſed a dangerous flame in the Houſe of Commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed againſt ſuch a vague and general way of accounting for the publick money, as tending to render Parliaments altogether inſignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to ſcreen corrupt and rapacious miniſters. The Commons having taken into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers. A motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already iſſued and applied towards diſcharging the national debts, together with a ſum to be iſſued at Lady-day, amounted to ſix millions ſix hundred forty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-two pounds, five ſhillings, one penny, one farthing. In vain did the leaders of the oppoſition expoſe the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonſtrate the fraudulent artifice uſed in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried; and ſeveral reſolutions were taken on the ſtate of the national debts. In the particular account of theſe debts, upon which the Houſe

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House resolved to form a representation to his Majesty, an article of three hundred thousand pounds relating to the duty upon wrought plate was totally omitted. This extraordinary omission being discovered, gave rise to a very warm debate, and to very severe reflections against those who superintended the publick accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representation, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, with a state of the sinking fund and of the publick credit. The draft, being approved by the House, was presented to the King, who received it graciously. He took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debts was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it: a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

§ VII. This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a message to the House, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements entered into, and concerted, with the advice and concurrence of the last Parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe, Though a debate ensued upon this message, the majority resolved that an address should be presented to his Majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the Commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his Majesty to fulfil his engagements. A vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the Peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the King submitted to their

their peruſal; they likewiſe prepared a bill for amending the ſtatute of limitation, which, however, did not paſs into a law: they conſidered the ſtate of the national debt: a ſubject fruitful of debates; they paſſed the mutiny bill, and thoſe that were ſent up from the Commons, touching the ſupplies; together with an act, obliging ſhips arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and ſome others of a more private nature. Theſe bills having received the royal aſſent, the King cloſed the ſeſſion on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the Commons for the effectual ſupplies they had raiſed, and, in particular, for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of wages due to the ſeamen employed in the navy. CHAP. IV. 1728.

§ VIII. England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events. The King's uncle, Erneſt Auguſtus, Prince of Brunſwick, Duke of York, and Biſhop of Oſnabruck, died on the third day of Auguſt, and was ſucceeded in the biſhoprick by the Elector of Cologn, according to the pactum by which Oſnabruck is alternately poſſeſſed by the Houſe of Brunſwick and that Elector. In the beginning of December, his Majeſty's eldeſt ſon Prince Frederick arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto reſided, was introduced into the privy-council, and created Prince of Wales. Signior Como, reſident from the Duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, becauſe his maſter paid to the Pretender the honours due to the King of Great-Britain. The congreſs opened at Soiſſons, for determining all diſputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in ſettling and reconciling ſo many different pretenſions and intereſts, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover propoſed a proviſional treaty, concerning which no definitive anſwer was given as yet by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of

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of Europe, therefore, continued in ſuſpenſe: the Engliſh fleet lay inactive and rotting in the Weſt-Indies: the ſailors periſhed miſerably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs; while the Spaniſh cruiſers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great-Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, ſeemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good underſtanding with France, and now ſtrengthened its intereſt by a double alliance of marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The Infanta of this Houſe was betrothed to the Prince of Aſturias: while the Spaniſh Infanta, formerly affianced to the French King, was now matched with the Prince of Braſil, eldeſt ſon of his Portugueſe Majeſty. In the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden houſe built over the little river Coya, that ſeparates the two kingdoms, and there the Princeſſes were exchanged.

§ IX. The Parliament of Great-Britain meeting according to their laſt prorogation on the twenty-firſt day of January, the king in his ſpeech communicated the nature of the negociation at the congreſs. He demanded ſuch ſupplies as might enable him to act vigorouſly in concert with his allies, provided his endeavours to eſtabliſh an advantageous peace ſhould miſcarry; and he hinted that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great meaſure from the hopes that were given, of creating diſcontents and diviſions among the ſubjects of Great-Britain. This ſuggeſtion was a miniſterial artifice to inflame the zeal and reſentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the oppoſition. Accordingly the hint was purſued, and in the addreſſes from both Houſes, that could not fail of being agreeable, conſidering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both Peers and Commons expreſſed their deteſtation and abhorence of thoſe, who,

who, by ſuch baſe and unnatural artifices, ſuggeſted the means of diſtreſſing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniences which they themſelves had occaſioned. In theſe addreſſes, likewiſe, the Parliament congratulated his Majeſty on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in his Britiſh dominions; and the Commons ſent a particular compliment to his Royal Highneſs on that occaſion. The eſtimates having been examined in the uſual form, the Houſe voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen for the enſuing year; but the motion for continuing the ſame number of land forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, was not carried without diſpute. All the arguments againſt a ſtanding army in time of peace, as inconſiſtent with the Britiſh conſtitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney. Theſe, however, were anſwered, and repreſented as abſurd, by Mr. Horatio Walpole and Mr. D. two ſtaunch adherents of the miniſter. The firſt had, in deſpite of nature, been employed in different negociations: he was blunt, aukward, and ſlovenly: an orator without eloquence, an ambaſſador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without addreſs. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; ſpoke with confidence; and in diſpute was vain, ſarcaſtick, petulant, and verboſe.

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§ X. The ſubſidies to Sweden, Heſſe-Caſſel, and Wolfenbuttel were continued, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr. Lutwyche, and Mr. Pulteney; which laſt obſerved, that as the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the Duke of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, uſually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reaſonable that Great-Britain ſhould defray no more than the expence of the additional forces which thoſe powers had raiſed, in conſequence of their conventions with the King of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving

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ceiving that this remark made an impreſſion on the Houſe, thought it neceſſary to vindicate his meaſure. He expatiated upon the wiſdom of the late King, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed, that the convention with Heſſe-Caſſel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the Emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spaniſh ſubſidies, but alſo retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been over-awed by the Heſſians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that, therefore, they ought not to grudge an expence which had already proved ſo beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joſeph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloſs might be put upon ſuch meaſures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had ſteered and ſquared its conduct with relation to its intereſt abroad: that the navy was the natural ſtrength of Great-Britain—its beſt defence and ſecurity: but if, in order to avoid a war, they ſhould be ſo free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign Princes, they were never like to ſee an end of ſuch extravagant expences. This gentleman, who exerciſed the office of Maſter of the Rolls, had approved himſelf a zealous defender of Whig principles, was an able lawyer, a ſenſible ſpeaker, and a conſcientious patriot. The ſupplies were raiſed by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional impoſition on unmalted corn uſed in diſtilling, and by ſale of annuities to the Bank not exceeding fifty thouſand pounds per annum.

§ XI. Petitions were delivered to the Houſe of Commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruptions they had ſuffered in their trade for ſeveral years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies.

Indies. These being considered, the House ordered the Lords of the Admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congress at Soissons: then they addressed his Majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to Admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West-India squadron. Mr. Oglethorpe having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by gaolers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to enquire into the state of the gaols of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-prison, which they visited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, Baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities, which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villainy, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the House unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. John Huggins, Esquire, who had been warden of the Fleet-prison, was subjected to a resolution of the same nature. The House presented an address to the King, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge

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Bambridge to execute the office of warden; another for the better regulating the priſon of the Fleet: and for more effectual preventing and puniſhing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the ſaid priſon*.

§ XII. Other merchants complained by petition of the loſſes ſuſtained by the Spaniards. The Houſe, in a grand committee, deliberated on this ſubject, enquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an addreſs to the King, deſiring his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations; for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction; and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The King aſſured them he would uſe his beſt endeavours to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people, in an affair of ſo much importance; and they, in another addreſs, thanked him for his gracious anſwer. They did not, however, receive ſuch a ſatisfactory reply to a former addreſs, touching the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds that had been ſtated in the publick account, without ſpecification of the particular uſes to which it was applied. His Majeſty gave them to underſtand that the money had been iſſued and diſburſed for ſecret ſervices; and that a diſtinct and particular account of the diſtribution of it could not be given with a manifeſt prejudice to the publick. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of Parliament; and it paſſed through the Houſe without oppoſition: but their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spaniſh depredations, which had raiſed a great clamour through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm diſputes in Parliament; for they were generally reputed the

* It afterwards appeared that ſome of the members of this Inqueſt were actuated by other motives than thoſe they profeſſed; and the committee was ſuffered to ſink into oblivion.

fruits

fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the miniſters. The Commons having made further progreſs in the enquiry, and received freſh petitions from the merchants, paſſed ſome reſolutions, in which the Spaniards were accuſed of having violated the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the maſters and crews of ſhips belonging to Great-Britain. They juſtified the inſtructions given to Admiral Hoſier, to ſeize and detain the flota and galleons of Spain, until juſtice and ſatisfaction ſhould be rendered to his Majeſty and his allies; nay, even declared that ſuch ſeizure would have been juſt, prudent, and neceſſary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addreſſed the King to uſe his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction; and he promiſed to comply with their requeſt. CHAP. IV. 1728.

§ XIII. Mr. Scroope, member for Briſtol, moved for an addreſs intreating his Majeſty to order an account of the produce of the civil-liſt revenues for one year to be laid before the Houſe. The addreſs was preſented, the account produced, and the Houſe in a grand committee, took this affair into conſideration. The Courtiers affirmed that they fell ſhort of the eight hundred thouſand pounds ſettled upon his Majeſty; and Mr. Scroope propoſed that the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to the King, on account of thoſe deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr. Pulteney and other members. They expreſſed their ſurprize that it ſhould be made ſo late in the ſeſſion, when no further demand of money could be reaſonably expected; and they ſaid it was the more extraordinary, becauſe it appeared in the former ſeſſion, from the examination of the accounts then before the Houſe, that the revenues of the civil-liſt produced yearly a much greater ſum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pulteney moved

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moved that the accounts and papers ſhould be referred to the examination of a ſelect committee, properly empowered to inveſtigate the truth. The miniſters oppoſed this motion; and the queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative. The majority voted the ſum demanded; and in a bill for ſettling the price of imported corn, they inſerted the reſolution for granting to his Majeſty the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil-liſt revenues.

§ XIV. The Houſe of Lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual puniſhment of forgery, which was paſſed into a law, and ordered the Judges to bring in another on the report of a committee appointed to conſider the caſe of impriſoned debtors, at length deliberated upon the ſtate of the nation, particularly the poſitive demand made by the Court of Spain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar, grounded in a letter written by the late King to his Catholick Majeſty. From a copy of the letter laid before the Houſe, it plainly appeared that King George I. had conſented to this reſtitution. A motion being made for a reſolution, importing, that for the honour of his Majeſty, and the preſervation and ſecurity of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care ſhould be taken in the preſent treaty that the King of Spain ſhould renounce all claim and pretenſion to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and ſtrong terms: a debate enſued and the queſtion being put, paſſed in the negative, though not without a proteſt. Then the majority reſolved, that the Houſe did entirely rely upon his Majeſty, that he would, for maintaining the honour and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the preſent treaty to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the Houſe examined the papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations, many ſevere reflexions were uttered againſt the conduct of the miniſtry; and a motion was made, to reſolve that Hoſier's expedition

pedition was an unreaſonable burthen on the nation: but this too was rejected, and occaſioned another proteſt. Nor did the clauſe in the corn-bill, for granting one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds to his Majeſty, paſs through the Houſe of Peers without warm oppoſition. Divers lords alledged, that, inſtead of a deficiency in the civil-liſt revenues, there was a conſiderable ſurplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burthen on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the ſum deſigned for the civil liſt; and this at a time when the publick debts were increaſed; when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was incumbered and diminiſhed; when her manufactures were decayed, her poor multiplied, and ſhe was ſurrounded by many other national calamities. They obſerved, that if the produce of the civil-liſt revenue ſhould not amount to the yearly ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, the deficiency muſt be made good to his Majeſty by the publick; whereas no proviſion was made, by which, if the produce of theſe revenues ſhould exceed that ſum, the ſurplus could accrue to the benefit of the publick; that, by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but alſo ſupplies were to be given for arrears ſtanding out at the end of the year, which ſhould come on before the ſupplies could be granted, though the ſupply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increaſe the ſurpluſages in another: that the revenues of the civil-liſt were variable in their own nature; and even when there is a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: theſe might be eaſily increaſed by the management of deſigning miniſters, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of ſtating accounts. All theſe arguments, and other objections equally ſtrong and plauſible, againſt this unconſcionable and unparliamentary motion, ſerved

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only to evince the triumph of the miniſtry over ſhame and ſentiment, their contempt of publick ſpirit, and their defiance of the national reproach *.

§ XV. The king had, on the twenty-fourth day of March, given the Royal aſſent to five bills; and on the fourteenth day of May, the ſame ſanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the Queen to be regent in the kingdom during his Majeſty's abſence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of inſolvent debtors. At the ſame time two-and-thirty private bills were paſſed: then the King expreſſed his approbation of the Parliament, ſignified his intention to viſit his German dominions, and ordered the Chancellor to prorogue both Houſes. His Majeſty having appointed the Queen regent of the realm, ſet out for Hanover, on the ſeventeenth day of May, in order to remove a petty miſunderſtanding which had happened between that Electorate and the Court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian ſubjects had been preſſed or decoyed into the ſervice of Pruſſia; and the regents of Hanover had ſeized certain Pruſſian officers, by way of repriſal. The whole united kingdom of Great-Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repoſe; and commerce continued to increaſe, in ſpite of all reſtriction and diſcouragement. The people of Ireland found themſelves happy under the government of Lord Carteret; and their Parliament, aſſembling in the month of September, approved themſelves the fathers of their country. They eſtabliſhed funds for the diſcharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expence of government: they enacted wholeſome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wiſe regulations in different branches

* The Peers that diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the oppoſition were Beaufort, Strafford, Craven, Foley, Litchfield, Scarſdale, Gower, Mountjoy, Plymouth, Bathurſt, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford, and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

of

of civil œconomy. Some time after this ſeſſion, which was conducted with ſo much harmony and patriotiſm, Lord Carteret returned to England; and was ſucceeded by the Duke of Dorſet in the government of that kingdom. In the month of May, Charles Lord Townſhend reſigned the ſeals, which were given to Colonel Stanhope, now created Earl of Harrington; ſo that Sir R. W. now reigned without a rival, James Earl of Waldegrave was appointed ambaſſador to the court of France, which, about that time, was filled with joy by the birth of a Dauphin. CHAP. IV. 1729.

§ XVI. In the month of September, Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, reſigned his crown to his ſon Charles Emanuel, Prince of Piedmont. The father reſerved to himſelf a revenue of one hundred thouſand piſtoles per annum, retired to the caſtle of Chamberry, and eſpouſed the Counteſs Dowager of St. Sebaſtian, who declined the title of Queen, but aſſumed that of Marchioneſs of Somerive. Though the congreſs at Soiſſons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, not only without the concurrence of the Emperor, but even contrary to his right, as eſtabliſhed by the quadruple alliance. On this ſubject he communicated an Imperial commiſſorial decree to the States of the Empire aſſembled in the diet at Ratiſbon, which was anſwered by the French miniſter de Chavigny. In October, Peter II. Czar of Muſcovy, and grandſon of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moſcow, and was ſucceeded on the Ruſſian throne by the Princeſs Anne Ivanowna, ſecond daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the firſt Peter, and widow of Frederick William Duke of Courland. The following month was rendered remarkable by the death of Pope Benedict XIII. in whoſe room

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Cardinal Laurence Corſini was raiſed to the pontificate, and aſſumed the name of Clement XII.

1729. § XVII. The Britiſh Parliament aſſembling on the thirteenth day of January, the King gave them to underſtand, that the peace of Europe was now eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to ſee performed. He aſſured them, that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the Britiſh trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed: that the free, uninterrupted exerciſe of their commerce was reſtored: that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample reſtitution and reparation for unlawful ſeizures and depredations: that all rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions, belonging to him and his allies, were ſolemnly re-eſtabliſhed, confirmed, and guarantied; and that not one conceſſion was made to the prejudice of his ſubjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet; and obſerved that there would be a conſiderable ſaving in the expence of the current year. After both Houſes had preſented their addreſſes of thanks and congratulation to the King on the peace of Seville, the Lords took that treaty into conſideration, and it did not paſs enquiry without ſevere animadverſion.

§ XVIII. The Lords in the oppoſition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great-Britain were obliged to make proof of their loſſes at the Court of Spain. They ſaid this ſtipulation was a hardſhip upon Britiſh ſubjects, and diſhonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake ſuch a troubleſome and expenſive journey, eſpecially as they had reaſon to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and, after all, they would have no more than the ſlender

ſlender comfort of hoping to obtain that redreſs by commiſſaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great-Britain ſhould be bound to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement ſhould be made between the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma and Tuſcany, concerning the garriſons once eſtabliſhed in their countries: that the Engliſh ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt in effectuating the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into the towns of Tuſcany and Parma, without any ſpecification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that aſſiſtance: that they ſhould guarantee for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his ſucceſſors, the poſſeſſion of the eſtates of Tuſcany and Parma; a ſtipulation which in all probability would involve Great-Britain in endleſs quarrels and diſputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed that the treaty of Seville, inſtead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces ſtipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing that they ſhould there remain until Don Carlos and his ſucceſſors ſhould be ſecure and exempt from all events. They complained that theſe alterations, from the tenor of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the Emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendſhip from England, and hazard the loſs of ſuch an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there ſeemed to be an artful omiſſion of any expreſs ſtipulation, to ſecure Great-Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the ſubſtance of the objections made to the peace: then Lord Bathurſt moved for a reſolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to ſecure the

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succeſſion of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spaniſh troops, was a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the balance of power in Europe. The queſtion was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of two other motions, to reſolve that Great-Britain's right of ſovereignty, dominion, poſſeſſion, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not aſcertained by the treaty of Seville; and that the ſtipulations in that treaty for repairing the loſſes of the Britiſh merchants were inſufficient and precarious. The majority, far from ſtigmatiſing this tranſaction, reſolved, that the treaty did contain all neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights, and poſſeſſions of the Crown: that all due care was taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh merchants. On theſe reſolutions an addreſs of approbation was founded: but when a motion was made for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would order to be laid before the Houſe a liſt of all penſions payable to the Crown, it was immediately reſolved in the negative. Divers conteſts of the ſame kind aroſe upon the mutiny-bill, the penſion-bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thouſand Heſſians; but the miniſtry bore down all oppoſition, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous proteſts, which did not fail to make impreſſion upon the body of the people.

§ XIX. Nor was the ſucceſs of the Court intereſt in the Houſe of Commons altogether pure, and free from exception and diſpute. When the charge of the land-forces fell under the conſideration of the Commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham, ſecretary at war, moved that the number of effective men for the land-ſervice of the enſuing year ſhould be fixed at ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and nine, Mr. Pulteney

Pulteney inſiſted upon its being reduced to twelve thouſand. Mr. Shippen affirmed, that Mr. Pelham's motion was a flat negative to the addreſs for which he voted on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, as it plainly implied a diſtruſt of the validity of the late treaty, which he then aſſured the Houſe would immediately produce all the bleſſings of an abſolute peace, and deliver the kingdom from the apprehenſions and inconveniencies of a war. He ſaid the motion tended directly towards the eſtabliſhment of an army in Great-Britain, which he hoped would never be ſo far Germanized, as tamely to ſubmit to a military government. He obſerved that the nation could have no occaſion for all the troops that were demanded, conſidering the glorious ſcene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. "They are "not neceſſary (ſaid he) to awe Spain into a firm "adherence to its own treaty; they are not neceſ- "ſary to force the Emperor into an immediate "acceſſion; nor are they in any ſort neceſſary for "the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon and govern- "ment. Force and violence are the reſort of "uſurpers and tyrants only; becauſe they are, with "good reaſon, diſtruſtful of the people whom they "oppreſs; and becauſe they have no other ſecurity "for the continuance of their unlawful and unna- "tural dominion, than what depends entirely on the "ſtrength of their armies." The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

§ XX. Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any ſubjects of Great-Britain from advancing ſums of money to foreign Princes or States, without having obtained licence from his Majeſty, under his privy-ſeal, or ſome greater authority. The miniſter pretended that this law was propoſed to diſable the Emperor, who wanted to borrow a great ſum of the Engliſh merchants, from raiſing and maintaining troops to diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. The bill

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bill contained a clauſe, empowering the King to prohibit by proclamation all ſuch loans of money, jewels, or bullion: the attorney-general was empowered to compel, by Engliſh bill, in the court of Exchequer, the effectual diſcovery, on oath, of any ſuch loans; and it was enacted, that in default of an anſwer to any ſuch bill the court ſhould decree a limited ſum againſt the perſon refuſing to anſwer. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued ſtrenuouſly againſt this bill, as a reſtraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent. He ſaid that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, ſtates, or potentates, the Engliſh were totally diſabled from aſſiſting their beſt allies: that among others the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the Engliſh merchants reſiding within his dominions; that while the licenſing power remained in the Crown, the licences would be iſſued through the hands of the miniſter, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thouſand a year: that the bill would render the Exchequer a court of inquiſition; and that whilſt it reſtrained our merchants from aſſiſting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our ſtock-jobbers, to trade in their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly underſtood trade in all its branches, ſpoke with judgment and preciſion, and upon all occaſions ſteadily adhered to the intereſt and liberties of his country. After having explained his reaſons, he declared he ſhould never conſent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our deareſt liberties, and a very terrible hardſhip on mankind. Sir William Wyndham diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the ſame ſide of the queſtion: the bill was vindicated by

by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general; and being ſupported by the whole weight of miniſterial influence, not only paſſed through the Houſe, but was afterwards enacted into a law. CHAP. IV. 1729.

§ XXI. The ſubſidies were continued to the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the Duke of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, in ſpite of all that could be urged againſt theſe extraneous incumbrances; and the ſupply for the enſuing year was granted according to the eſtimates which the miniſtry thought proper to produce, amounting to about two millions two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds. It muſt be owned, however, for the credit of this ſeſſion, that the Houſe appropriated one million of the ſurpluſſes ariſing from the ſinking fund towards the diſcharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguiſhed the duties upon ſalt, by which expedient the ſubject was eaſed of a heavy burthen, not only in being freed from the duty, but alſo from a conſiderable charge of ſalaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this impoſition. They likewiſe encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre; and they permitted ſalt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New-York. The term of the excluſive trade granted by act of Parliament to the Eaſt-India company drawing towards a period, many conſiderable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and veſted with the privilege of trading to thoſe countries, propoſing to lay that branch of trade open to all the ſubjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions. In conſideration of an act of Parliament for this purpoſe, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thouſand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the preſent Eaſt-India company. This propoſal was

 rejected:

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An. 1730. § XXII. On the fifteenth day of May the King went to the House of Peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which were raised, the Parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of Parliament *. The Emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects

* In the course of this session the Commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of Parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the Commons in Parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made its way through the House of Commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the Upper House, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

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of Great-Britain from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war, and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with such dispatch as had been very seldom exerted by the House of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the Empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the Infant, Don Carlos, by the quadruple alliance; and all that the Emperor required, was, that this Prince should receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the Empire. CHAP. IV. 1730.

§ XXIII. In Great-Britain, this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cumin. Being introduced to the King, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentick deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full powers for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the King and Queen to the sun and moon, the Princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were re-conveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South-Carolina. In the month of September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople, without bloodshed or confusion, A few mean Janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming that all true Musselmen ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the government. They soon increased to the number of one hundred thousand, marched to the Seraglio, and demanded the

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the Grand Vizir, the Kiaja, and Capitan Pacha. Theſe unhappy miniſters were immediately ſtrangled. Their bodies being delivered to the inſurgents, were dragged through the ſtreets; and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this ſacrifice, the revolters depoſed the Grand Signor Achmet, who was confined to the ſame priſon from whence they brought his nephew Machmut, and raiſed this laſt to the throne, after he had lived ſeven-and-twenty years in confinement.

§ XXIV. England was at this period infeſted with robbers, aſſaſſins, and incendiaries, the natural conſequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great meaſure, aroſe from an abſurd notion, that laws neceſſary to prevent thoſe acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of Britiſh ſubjects; a notion that confounds all diſtinctions between liberty and brutal licentiouſneſs, as if that freedom was deſirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no ſecurity for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was viſible even in the conduct of thoſe who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more deſperate and ſavage than ever they had appeared ſince mankind was civilized. In the exerciſe of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy ſufferers, through a wantonneſs of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding ſums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houſes to aſhes, and their families to ruin; and even ſet fire to the houſe of a rich merchant in Briſtol, who had refuſed to comply with their demand. The ſame ſpecies of villainy was practiſed in different parts of the kingdom; ſo that the government was obliged to interpoſe, and offer a conſiderable reward for diſcovering the ruffians concerned in ſuch execrable deſigns.

§ XXV.

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§ XXV. In the ſpeech with which the King opened the ſeſſion of Parliament on the twenty-firſt day of January, he told them, that the preſent critical conjuncture ſeemed in a very particular manner to deſerve their attention: that as the tranſactions then depending in the ſeveral courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their firſt reſolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He ſaid, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto ſupported him and his engagements muſt at this time be of the greateſt weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to thoſe who might be diſpoſed, before the ſeaſon of action, to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal conſequences of a general rupture. The former ſcene was repeated. Both Houſes, in their addreſſes, promiſed to ſupport his Majeſty, in all his engagements: yet the members in the oppoſition demonſtrated the abſurdity of promiſing to fulfil engagements, before they could poſſibly know whether or not they were for the ſervice of Great-Britain. Another bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, to prevent penſioners from ſitting as members of Parliament: and, after a third reading, carried up to the Lords for their concurrence. When the ſupply fell under conſideration, the debates were renewed upon the ſubſidies to the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, which, however, were continued; and every article was granted according to the eſtimates given in for the expence of the enſuing year. Two petitions being preſented to the Commons, repreſenting the delays of juſtice, occaſioned by the uſe of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, That all thoſe proceſſes and pleadings ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language. Though one would imagine that very little could be advanced

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advanced againſt ſuch a regulation, the bill met with warm oppoſition, on pretence that it would render uſeleſs the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confuſion and delay of juſtice, by altering the eſtabliſhed form and method of pleading: in ſpite of theſe objections it paſſed through both Houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, their petitions were referred to the conſideration of a grand committee. Their complaints upon examination appeared to be well founded. The Houſe preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue his endeavour to prevent ſuch depredations for the future; to procure full ſatisfaction for the damages already ſuſtained; and to ſecure to the Britiſh ſubjects the full and uninterrupted exerciſe of their trade and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The bill againſt penſions produced a warm debate in the Houſe of Lords, where it was violently oppoſed by the Dukes of Newcaſtle and Argyle, the Earl of Ilay, and Dr. Sherlock, biſhop of Bangor. This prelate, in a remarkable ſpeech, repreſented it as a ſcheme to enlarge the power of the Houſe of Commons, and to break the balance between the powers eſſential to the conſtitution, ſo as, ſooner or later, to prove the ruin of the whole. The great barrier provided againſt bribery and corruption by this bill conſiſted in an oath to be impoſed on all members of the Lower Houſe, by which they muſt have ſolemnly ſworn and declared, that they had not directly, nor indirectly, any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office in part, or in the whole, held for them, or for their benefit, by any perſons whatſoever; and that they would not accept any ſuch penſions or offices, without ſignifying the

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ſame to the Houſe within fourteen days after they ſhould be received or accepted. The bill was vindicated as juſt and neceſſary by the Earls of Winchelſea and Strafford, Lord Bathurſt, and Lord Carteret, who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the oppoſition *. CHAP. IV. 1730.

§ XXVI. The Houſe of Peers proceeded to conſider the ſtate of the national debt: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely oppoſed, and laid aſide, contrary to all the rules of ſound policy. They paſſed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the Engliſh language; and a fruitleſs motion was made by Lord Bathurſt for an addreſs, to deſire his Majeſty would give directions for diſcharging the Heſſian troops that were in the pay of Great-Britain. On the ſeventh day of May the Parliament was prorogued, after the King had given them to underſtand, that all apprehenſions of war were now happily removed, by a treaty ſigned at Vienna between him and the Emperor. He ſaid it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewiſe ſubmitted to the conſideration of the States-General. He obſerved, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occaſion were An. 1731.

* Nothing was heard within doors in Parliament, but ſarcaſtick repartee and violent declamation between the two parties, who did not confine their altercation to theſe debates, but took the field againſt each other in periodical papers, and occaſional pamphlets. The paper called the Craftſman had already riſen into high reputation all over England, for the wit, humour, and ſolid reaſoning it contained. Some of the beſt writers in the oppoſition, including Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. P. made uſe of this vehicle to convey their animadverſions upon the miniſter, who, on his ſide, employed the moſt wretched ſcribblers to defend his conduct. It was in conſequence of two political pamphlets, written in oppoſition to each other, by Lord Hervey and Mr. P. and ſome recrimination they produced in the Houſe of Commons, that his Lordſhip challenged the other to ſingle combat, and had well nigh loſt his life in the duel, which was fought in Hyde Park.

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agreeable to that neceſſary concern which the Britiſh nation muſt always have for the ſecurity and preſervation of the balance of power in Europe: and that this happy turn, duly improved with a juſt regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable proſpect of ſeeing the publick tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed.

§ XXVII. In the month of January the Duke of Parma died, after having made a will in which he declared his ducheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the allied powers of Europe to have compaſſion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his conſort ſhould be delivered. In caſe the child ſhould be ſtill born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial eſtates to the Infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the dutchy. Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition, a body of Imperial troops immediately took poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, under the command of General Stampa, who declared they ſhould conduct themſelves with all poſſible regularity and moderation, and leave the adminiſtration entirely to the regents whom the Duke had appointed. They publickly proclaimed in the market place, that they took poſſeſſion of theſe dutchies for the Infant, Don Carlos: and that if the Ducheſs Dowager ſhould not be delivered of a Prince, the ſaid Infant might receive the inveſtiture from the Emperor whenever he would, provided he ſhould come without an army. Though theſe ſteps ſeemed to threaten an immediate war, the King of Great-Britain and the States-General interpoſed their mediation ſo effectually with the court of Vienna, that the Emperor deſiſted from the proſecution of his deſign; and on the ſixteenth day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannick Majeſty, by which he conſented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, That the King of Spain might take poſſeſſion

ſeſſion of theſe places in favour of his ſon Don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville. He likewiſe agreed, That the Oſtend company, which had given ſuch umbrage to the maritime powers, ſhould be totally diſſolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville ſhould guarantee the pragmatick ſanction, or ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the Emperor, in caſe he ſhould die without male iſſue. The Dutch miniſter reſiding at the Imperial court did not ſubſcribe this treaty, becauſe, by the maxims received in that republick, and the nature of her government, he could not be veſted with full powers ſo ſoon as it would have been neceſſary: nevertheleſs the States-General were, by a ſeparate article, expreſsly named as a principal contracting party.

§ XXVIII. On the twenty ſecond day of July a new treaty was ſigned at Vienna between the Emperor and the Kings of Great-Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In Auguſt a treaty of union and defenſive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dreſden. The court of Spain expreſſing ſome doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the Ducheſs of Parma, ſhe underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations in preſence of the older Ducheſs Dowager, ſeveral ladies of quality, three phyſicians and a ſurgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheleſs, after having kept all Europe in ſuſpenſe for ſix months, ſhe owned ſhe had been deceived; and General Stampa, with the Imperial forces, took formal poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma, and Placentia. Spain and the Great Duke of Tuſcany having acceded to the laſt treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great-Britain engaged to equip an armament that ſhould convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wager ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron from Portſ-

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mouth on the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spaniſh fleet and tranſports, they ſailed together to Leghorn; from whence the Admiral returned to England. Don Carlos paſſed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spaniſh gallies, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the Imperial general withdrew his forces into the Milaneſe; and the Infant took poſſeſſion of his new territories.

§ XXIX. During theſe tranſactions France was diſtracted by religious diſputes, occaſioned by the bull Unigenitus thundered againſt the doctrines of Janſenius; a bull which had produced a ſchiſm in the Gallican Church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confuſion. It was oppoſed by the Parliaments and lay tribunals of the kingdom; but many biſhops, and the Jeſuits in general, were its moſt ſtrenuous aſſertors. All the artifices of prieſt-craft were practiſed on both ſides to inflame the enthuſiaſm, and manage the ſuperſtition of the people. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of Abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, conſequently was declared damned by the abettors of that conſtitution. On the other hand, the Jeſuits exerted all their abilities and induſtry in preaching againſt the Janſeniſts; in eſtabliſhing an opinion of their ſuperior ſanctity; and inſpiring a ſpirit of quietiſm among their votaries, who were tranſported into the delirium of poſſeſſion, illumination and ſupernatural converſe. Theſe arts were often uſed for the moſt infamous purpoſes. Female enthuſiaſts were wrought up to ſuch a violence of agitations, that nature fainted under the ſtruggle, and the pſeudo-ſaint ſeized this opportunity of violating the chaſtity of his penitent. Such was ſaid to be the caſe of Mademoiſelle la Cadiere, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abuſed in this manner by the luſt and villany of Pere Girard, a noted Jeſuit, who

who underwent a trial before the Parliament of Aix, and very narrowly eſcaped the ſtake. CHAP. IV.

§ XXX. The Parliament of Great-Britain meeting on the thirteenth day of January, the King in his ſpeech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was reſtored and eſtabliſhed by the laſt treaty of Vienna: and Don Carlos was actually poſſeſſed of Parma and Placentia: that ſix thouſand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the dutchy of Tuſcany, to ſecure, by the expreſs conſent and agreement of the Great Duke, the reverſion of his dominions; and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuſcany, for preſerving mutual peace and friendſhip in the two houſes. He told the Commons, that the eſtimates for the ſervice of the current year would be conſiderably leſs than thoſe of former years. He recommended unanimity: he obſerved that his government had no ſecurity but what was equally conducive to their happineſs, and to the protection of his people: that their proſperity had no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of his government. "Our ſafety (ſaid he) is mutual, and our intereſts "are inſeparable." The oppoſition to the court meaſures appears to have been uncommonly ſpirited during the courſe of this ſeſſion. The miniſter's motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocution. His principal emiſſaries were obliged to taſk their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonſtrate and convince, to miſrepreſent what they could not vindicate, and elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the Houſe of Commons Lord Hervey, lately appointed Vice Chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold, made a motion for an addreſs of thanks, in which they ſhould declare their entire approbation of the King's conduct, acknowledge the bleſſings they enjoyed under his government, expreſs their confidence in the wiſdom of his coun- 1731.

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cils; and declare their readineſs to grant the neceſſary ſupplies. This member, ſon to the Earl of Briſtol, was a nobleman of ſome parts, which, however, were more ſpecious than ſolid. He condeſcended to act as a ſubaltern to the miniſter, and approved himſelf extremely active in forwarding all his deſigns, whether as a ſecret emiſſary or publick orator; in which laſt capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy. His motion was ſeconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, and oppoſed by Sir Wilfred Lawſon, Mr. Shippen, M. W. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not argue againſt a general addreſs of thanks; but expoſed the abſurdity and bad tendency of expreſſions which implied a blind approbation of all the meaſures of the miniſtry. Sir Wilfred Lawſon obſerved, that notwithſtanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favours we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no ſatisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had ſuſtained from that nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guarantee to the pragmatick ſanction, laid itſelf under an obligation to aſſiſt the Auſtrian family when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the Grand Signior: that they might be attacked when it would be much againſt the intereſt of the kingdom to engage itſelf in a war upon any foreign account: that it might one day be for the intereſt of the nation to join againſt them, in order to preſerve the balance of Europe, the eſtabliſhing of which had already coſt England ſuch immenſe ſums of money. He inſiſted upon the abſurdity of concluding ſuch a number of inconſiſtent treaties; and concluded with ſaying, that if affairs abroad were now happily eſtabliſhed, the miniſtry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, ſafe, and ſtraight channel into port, yet took it in his head to carry

carry the ſhip a great way about, through ſands, rocks, and ſhallows; who, after having loſt a great number of ſeamen, deſtroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and ſubjected the owners to an enormous expence, at laſt by chance hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemiſhed character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that many other things related more nearly to the honour and intereſt of the nation than did the guarantee of the pragmatick ſanction. He ſaid he wiſhed to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been entirely raſed and deſtroyed: that the nation had received full and complete ſatisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain: that more care was taken in diſciplining the militia, on whoſe valour the nation muſt chiefly depend in caſe of an invaſion; and that ſome regard had been ſhown to the oppreſſed Proteſtants in Germany. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction to find that the Engliſh were not ſo cloſely united to France as formerly; for he had generally obſerved, that when two dogs were in a leaſh together, the ſtronger generally ran away with the weaker; and this he was afraid had been the caſe between France and Great-Britain. The motion was vigorouſly defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaſter of the forces, and brother to the Duke of Newcaſtle, a man whoſe greateſt fault was his being concerned in ſupporting the meaſures of a corrupt miniſtry. In other reſpects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the intereſt of his country, though egregiouſly miſtaken in his notions of government. On this occaſion he aſſerted that it was no way inconſiſtent with the honour or dignity of that Houſe to thank his Majeſty in the moſt particular terms for every thing he had been pleaſed to communicate in his ſpeech from the throne: that no expreſſions of approbation in the addreſs could

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be any way made uſe of to prevent an enquiry into the meaſures which had been purſued, when the treaties ſhould be laid before the Houſe. He ſaid, at the opening of a ſeſſion the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great-Britain, and from the Parliament's firſt reſolves all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would enſue between his Majeſty and the repreſentatives of his people: that their appearing jealous or diffident of his Majeſty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign ſtates and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any falſe ſtep that might have been made by his miniſters. His arguments were reinforced by a long ſpeech from Mr. H. Walpole. The queſtion was put, the motion carried, and the addreſs preſented.

§ XXXI. The next ſubject of debate was the number of land-forces. When the ſupply fell under conſideration, Sir W. Strickland, ſecretary of war, moved that the ſame number which had been maintained in the preceding year ſhould be continued in pay. On the other hand, Lord Morpeth, having demonſtrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be expoſed, by maintaining a numerous ſtanding army in time of peace, made a motion that the number ſhould be reduced to twelve thouſand. A warm debate enſuing, was managed in favour of the firſt motion by Lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general. This gentleman was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and ſhone more as an advocate at the bar than as an orator in the Houſe of Commons. The laſt partiſan of the miniſtry was Sir William Yonge, one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury; a man who rendered himſelf ſerviceable and neceſſary, by ſtooping to all compliances, running upon every ſcent, and haranguing on every ſubject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation,

declamation, compoſed of aſſertions without veracity, concluſion from falſe premiſes, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was eſpouſed by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales, brave, open, hoſpitable, and warmly attached to the ancient conſtitution and hierarchy: he was ſupported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who ſpoke with weight, preciſion, and ſeverity, by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard. The courtiers argued that it was neceſſary to maintain ſuch a number of land forces as might defeat the deſigns of malcontents, ſecure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external aſſaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous meaſures in caſe the peace of Europe ſhould be reembroiled. They affirmed, the ſcience of war was ſo much altered, and required ſo much attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain ſtanding armies, for their ſecurity againſt the encroachments of neighbouring powers: that the number of troops in Great-Britain was too inconſiderable to excite the jealouſy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch: that his Majeſty never entertained the leaſt thought of infringing the liberties of his ſubjects: that it could not be ſuppoſed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a deſign to enſlave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a ſtanding army, inaſmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the Parliament, which was the repreſentative of the people. To theſe arguments the members in the oppoſition replied, that a ſtanding force in time of peace was unconſtitutional, and had been always thought dangerous; that a militia was as capable of diſcipline as a ſtanding army, and would have more incentives to

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to courage and perſeverance: that the civil magiſtrate was able to preſerve the peace of the country: that the number of the malcontents was altogether contemptible though it might be conſiderably augmented by maintaining a ſtanding army, and other ſuch arbitrary meaſures: that other nations had been enſlaved by ſtanding armies; and howſoever they might find themſelves neceſſitated to depend upon a military force for ſecurity againſt encroaching neighbours, the caſe was very different with regard to Great-Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this proviſion was ſtrengthened and improved by a numerous navy, which ſecured her dominion of the ſea; and, if properly diſpoſed, would render all invaſion impracticable, or at leaſt ineffectual; that the land army of Great-Britain, though ſufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not poſſibly ſecure ſuch an extent of coaſt, and therefore could be of very little ſervice in preventing an invaſion: that though they had all imaginable confidence in his Majeſty's regard for the liberty of his ſubects, they could not help apprehending, that ſhould a ſtanding army become part of the conſtitution, another Prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal deſigns, might ariſe, and employ it for the worſt purpoſes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honour and probity, theſe might be eaſily diſcarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper. By theſe means, practiſed in former times, an army had been new modelled to ſuch a degree, that they turned their ſwords againſt the Parliament, for whoſe defence they had been raiſed, and deſtroyed the conſtitution both in Church and State: that with reſpect to its being wholly dependent on the Parliament, the people of England would have reaſon to complain of the ſame hardſhip, whether a ſtanding army ſhould be declared at once indiſpenſible, or regularly

regularly voted from year to year, according to the direction of the miniſtry: that the ſanction of the legiſlature granted to meaſures which in themſelves are unconſtitutional, burthenſome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, inſtead of yielding conſolation, would ſerve only to demonſtrate, that the moſt effectual method of forging the chains of national ſlavery, would be that of miniſterial influence operating upon a venal Parliament. Such were the reaſons urged againſt a ſtanding army, of what number ſoever it might be compoſed: but the expediency of reducing the number from about eighteen thouſand to twelve thouſand, was inſiſted upon as the natural conſequence of his Majeſty's declaration, by which they were given to underſtand that the peace of Europe was eſtabliſhed; and that he had nothing ſo much at heart as the eaſe and proſperity of his people. It was ſuggeſted, that if eighteen thouſand men were ſufficient on the ſuppoſed eve of a general war in Europe, it was ſurely reaſonable to think that a leſs number would ſuffice when peace was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. Whatever effect theſe reaſons had upon the body of the nation, they made no converts in the Houſe, where the majority reſolved that the ſtanding army ſhould be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppreſſed by an arbitrary method of quartering ſoldiers, in an undue proportion, upon thoſe publicans who refuſed to vote in elections according to the direction of the miniſtry. Mr. Pulteney aſſerted, that the money raiſed for the ſubſiſtence of eighteen thouſand men in England, would maintain ſixty thouſand French or Germans, or the ſame number of almoſt any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared, that eighteen thouſand of the Engliſh troops in the late war were maintained on leſs than two-thirds of the ſum now demanded for the like number:

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number: but no regard was paid to theſe allegations.

§ XXXII. The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the Houſe, was the ſtate of the Charitable Corporation. This company was firſt erected in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven. Their profeſſed intention was to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor, upon ſmall pledges; and to perſons of better rank upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. Their capital was at firſt limited to thirty thouſand pounds; but, by licences from the crown, they increaſed it to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of Parliament. In the month of October, George Robinſon, eſquire, member for Marlow, the caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to inſpect the ſtate of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thouſand pounds no equivalent was found; inaſmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thouſand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not diſcover. The proprietors, in a petition to the Houſe of Commons, repreſented that by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmoſt degree of miſery and diſtreſs; they, therefore, prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to juſtice, without the aid of the power and authority of Parliament, the Houſe would vouchſafe to enquire into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give ſuch relief to the petitioners as to the Houſe

Houſe ſhould ſeem meet. The petition was graciouſly received, and a ſecret committee appointed to proceed on the enquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many perſons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conſpiracy: ſome of the firſt characters in the nation did not eſcape ſuſpicion and cenſure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the Houſe of Commons, as having had a conſiderable ſhare in thoſe fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in, to reſtrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from Signor John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to underſtand, that Thompſon was ſecured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were tranſmitted to his correſpondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions ſtipulated in favour of the priſoner. This letter was conſidered as an artifice to inſinuate a favourable opinion of the Pretender, as if he had taken meaſures for ſecuring Thompſon, from his zeal for juſtice, and affection for the Engliſh people. On this ſuppoſition, the propoſals were rejected with diſdain; and both Houſes concurred in an order that the letter ſhould be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The Lower Houſe reſolved, that it was an inſolent and audacious libel, abſurd and contradictory; that the whole tranſaction was a ſcandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to diſguiſe and conceal the wicked practices of the profeſſed enemies to his Majeſty's perſon, crown, and dignity.

§ XXXIII. No motion, during this ſeſſion, produced ſuch a warm conteſt as did that of Sir Robert Walpole,

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Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he propoſed that the duties on ſalt, which about two years before had been aboliſhed, ſhould now be revived, and granted to his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, for the term of three years. In order to ſweeten this propoſal, he declared that the land-tax for the enſuing year ſhould be reduced to one ſhilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion. They expreſſed their ſurprize at the groſſneſs of the impoſition. They obſerved, that two years had ſcarce elapſed ſince the King, in a ſpeech from the throne, had exhorted them to aboliſh ſome of the taxes that were the moſt burthenſome to the poor: the Houſe was then of opinion, that the tax upon ſalt was the moſt burthenſome, and the moſt pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impoſitions to which the poor were ſubjected, and therefore it was taken off: but that no good reaſon could be produced for altering their opinion ſo ſuddenly, and reſolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to eaſe a few rich men of the landed intereſt. They affirmed, that the moſt general taxes are not always the leaſt burthenſome: that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, thoſe taxes that can be raiſed with the leaſt charge to the publick, are the moſt convenient and eaſieſt to the people: but they ought carefully to avoid taxing thoſe things which are neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the poor. The price of all neceſſaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradeſman and manufacturer muſt be increaſed; and where theſe are high the manufacturers will be underſold by thoſe of cheaper countries. The trade muſt of conſequence be ruined; and it is not to be ſuppoſed that the landed gentleman would chooſe to ſave a ſhilling in the pound from the land-tax, by means of an expedient that would ruin the manufactures of his country, and decreaſe the value of his own for-

tune. They alledged that the ſalt-tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat freſh proviſions; and that, as it formerly occaſioned murmurs and diſcontents among the lower claſs of people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exaſperate them into open ſedition. They obſerved, that while it was exacted in England, a great number of merchants ſent their ſhips to Ireland, to be victualled for their reſpective voyages: that, ſince it had been aboliſhed, many experiments had been ſucceſsfully tried with ſalt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this impoſition. They ſuggeſted that the land-tax was raiſed at a very ſmall expence, and ſubject to no fraud, whereas that upon ſalt would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending upon the miniſtry, whoſe influence in elections they would proportionably increaſe. They even hinted, that this conſideration was one powerful motive for propoſing the revival of an odious tax, which was in effect an exciſe, and would be deemed a ſtep towards a general exciſe upon all ſorts of proviſions. Finally, they demonſtrated that the ſalt-tax introduced numberleſs frauds and perjuries in different articles of traffick. Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to obviate all theſe objections in a long ſpeech, which was minutely anſwered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney. Nevertheleſs, the queſtion being put, the miniſter's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill paſſed, divers motions were made, and additional clauſes propoſed by the members in the oppoſition. New debates were raiſed on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to diſpute their ground by inches.

§ XXXIV. The penſion bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the Houſe of Lords. A bill for the encouragement of the ſugar colonies paſſed

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paſſed through the Lower Houſe with great difficulty, but was loſt among the Peers: another, for the better ſecuring the freedom of Parliaments, by further qualifying members to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, was read the third time, and thrown out upon the queſtion. A commitee had been appointed to enquire into a ſale of the eſtate which had belonged to the late Earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the ſale had been fraudulent: a bill was prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, eſquire, and Serjeant Birch, commiſſioners for the ſale of the forfeited eſtates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of truſt, and expelled the Houſe of which they were members: George Robinſon, eſquire, underwent the ſame ſentence, on account of the part he acted in the Charitable Corporation, as he and Thompſon had neglected to ſurrender themſelves, according to the terms of a bill which had paſſed for that purpoſe. During this ſeſſion, five members of Parliament were expelled for the moſt ſordid acts of knavery; a ſure ſign of national degeneracy and diſhonour. All the ſupplies were granted, and among other articles, the ſum of two-and-twenty thouſand ſix hundred ninety-four pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſixpence, for the agio or difference of the ſubſidies payable to the Crown of Denmark, in purſuance of the treaty ſubſiſting between the late King and that Monarch: but this was not obtained without a violent diſpute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a conſiderable ſhare in all theſe debates, became in a little time ſo remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure. The King, on the firſt day of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand ſtruck the name of Willam Pulteney eſquire, out of the liſt of privy councillors: his Majeſty further ordered him to be put out of all the commiſſions of the peace. The ſeveral lord lieutenants, from whom he had received deputations, were commanded

manded to revoke them; and the Lord-Chancellor and Secretaries of State were directed to give the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe. CHAP. IV. 1731.

§ XXXV. Nor did the Houſe of Peers tamely and unanimouſly ſubmit to the meaſures of the miniſtry. The penſion-bill being read, was again rejected, and a proteſt entered. A debate aroſe about the number of ſtanding forces; and the Earl of Cheſterfield argued for the court motion. The Earl of Oxford moved that they might be reduced to twelve thouſand effective men. The Earl of Winchelſea obſerved, that a ſtanding army rendered miniſters of ſtate more daring than otherwiſe they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: ſchemes that never could enter into the heads of any but thoſe who were drunk with exceſs of power. The Marquis of Tweedale, in reaſoning againſt ſuch a number as the miniſtry propoſed, took occaſion to obſerve, that not one ſhilling of the forfeited eſtates was ever applied to the uſe of the publick: he likewiſe took notice, that the eighteen thouſand men, demanded as a ſtanding force, were modelled in ſuch a manner, that they might be ſpeedily augmented to forty thouſand men on any emergency. The Duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonſtrate the danger of depending for the ſafety of the kingdom upon an undiſciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries. Then he repreſented the neceſſity of having recourſe to a regular army in caſe of invaſion; and after all, acknowledged, that the number propoſed was no way ſufficient for that purpoſe. All his arguments were anſwered and refuted in an excellent ſpeech by Lord Carteret: nevertheleſs, victory declared for the miniſter. The Parliament having granted every branch of the ſupply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a ſum from the ſinking-fund, and paſſed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the

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King, on the first day of June, gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both Houses that the States-General had acceded to the treaty of Vienna: that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the Queen Regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatick sanction was confirmed by the Diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the Electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§ I. *Remarkable inſtance of ſuicide.* § II. *Affairs of the Continent.* § III. *Meeting of the Parliament.* § IV. *Addreſs to the King touching the Spaniſh depredations.* § V. *The Exciſe ſcheme propoſed by Sir Robert Walpole.* § VI. *Oppoſition to the ſcheme.* § VII. *Bill for a dower to the Princeſs Royal.* § VIII. *Debate in the Houſe of Lords concerning the eſtates of the late Directors of the South-Sea Company.* § IX. *Double election of a King in Poland.* § X. *The Kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia join againſt the Emperor.* § XI. *The Prince of Orange arrives in England.* § XII. *Altercation in the Houſe of Commons.* § XIII. *Debate about the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viſcount Cobham from their reſpective regiments.* § XIV. *Motion for the repeal of the ſeptennial act.* § XV. *Concluſion of a remarkable ſpeech by Sir W. Windham.* § XVI. *Meſſage from the King for powers to augment the forces in the intervals between the two Parliaments.* § XVII. *Oppoſition in the Houſe of Peers. Parliament diſſolved.* § XVIII. *Dantzick beſieged by the Ruſſians.* § XIX. *Philipſburgh taken by the French. Don Carlos takes poſſeſſion of Naples.* § XX. *Battle of Parma.* § XXI. *The Imperialiſts are again worſted at Guaſtalla. An edict in France compelling the Britiſh ſubjects in that kingdom to inliſt in the French army.* § XXII. *New Parliament in Great-Britain.* § XXIII. *Debate on a ſubſidy to Denmark.* § XXIV. *Petition of ſome Scottiſh noblemen to the Houſe of Peers.* § XXV. *Bill explaining an act of the Scottiſh Parliament touching wrongous impriſonment.* § XXVI. *Miſunderſtanding between the Courts of Spain and Portugal. Sir John Norris ſails with a ſtrong ſquadron to Liſbon.* § XXVII. *Preliminaries ſigned by the Emperor and the King of*

France. § XXVIII. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § XXIX. *Bill for preventing the retail of ſpirituous liquors. Another for the relief of Quakers in the article of tithes.* § XXX. *Mortmain act.* § XXXI. *Remarkable riot at Edinburgh.* § XXXII. *Rupture between the Czarina and the Ottoman Porte.* § XXXIII. *The ſeſſion of Parliament opened by commiſſion.* § XXXIV. *Motion in both Houſes for a ſettlement on the Prince of Wales.* § XXXV. *Fierce debate on this ſubject.* § XXXVI. *Scheme by Sir John Barnard for reducing the intereſt of the national debt.* § XXXVII. *Bill againſt the city of Edinburgh.* § XXXVIII. *Play-houſe bill.*

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§ I. THE moſt remarkable incident that diſtinguiſhed this year in England was a very uncommon inſtance of ſuicide; an act of deſpair ſo frequent among the Engliſh, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural cauſes operating on the human body, in ſome few inſtances it ſeems to have been the reſult of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and priſoner for debt within the liberties of the King's-Bench, perſuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herſelf, after they had murthered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber, at about a yard's diſtance from each other; and in a ſeparate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers encloſed in a ſhort letter to their landlord, whoſe kindneſs they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who ſhould carry the encloſed papers to the perſon for whom they were addreſſed. In one of theſe the huſband thanked that perſon for the marks of friendſhip he had received at his hands; and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter,

quarter. The other paper, ſubſcribed by the huſband and wife, contained the reaſons which induced them to act ſuch a tragedy on themſelves and their offspring. This letter was altogether ſurprizing for the calm reſolution, the good humour, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themſelves from poverty and rags; evils that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the induſtry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They juſtified the murther of their child, by ſaying, it was leſs cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendleſs in the world, expoſed to ignorance and miſery. They profeſſed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodneſs and beneficence, who could not poſſibly take delight in the miſery of his creatures: they, therefore, reſigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehenſions; ſubmitting themſelves to thoſe ways which, in his goodneſs, he ſhould appoint after death. Theſe unfortunate ſuicides had been always induſtrious and frugal, invincibly honeſt, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

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§ II. Truſtees having been appointed by charter to ſuperintend a new ſettlement in Georgia, ſituated to the ſouthward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general, and governor of the province, embarked at Graveſend, with a number of poor families, to plant that colony. The King of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet ſailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the Count de Montemar, and arrived on the coaſt of Barbary in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a conſiderable body of troops was landed without much oppoſition. Next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The Bey or Governor of Oran im-

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mediately retired with his garriſon, and the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eight. The ſtrong fort of Mazalaquivir was likewiſe ſurrendered to the victors at the firſt ſummons; ſo that this expedition anſwered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadæus, the abdicated King of Sardinia, having, at the inſtigation of his wife, engaged in ſome intrigues, in order to re-aſcend the throne, his ſon, the reigning King, ordered his perſon to be ſeized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a ſtrong eſcort. His wife, the Marchioneſs de Spigno, was conducted to Seva. The old King's confeſſor, his phyſician, and eight-and-forty perſons of diſtinction were impriſoned. The citadel of Turin was ſecured with a ſtrong garriſon; and new inſtructions were given to the governor and ſenate of Chamberri. The diſpute which had long ſubſiſted between the King of Pruſſia and the young Prince of Orange, touching the ſucceſſion to the eſtates poſſeſſed by King William III. as head of the Houſe of Orange, was at laſt accommodated by a formal treaty ſigned at Berlin and Dierin. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehenſion of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occaſioned by worms, which were ſaid to have conſumed the piles and timber-work that ſupported their dykes. They prayed and faſted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length they were delivered from their fears by a hard froſt, which effectually deſtroyed thoſe dangerous animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, Plenipotentiary from the Elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his maſter, the inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the Emperor.

§ III. The hiſtory of England at this period cannot be very intereſting, as it chiefly conſiſts in an annual

annual revolution of debates in Parliament. De- CHAP. V. 1732.
bates, in which the ſame arguments perpetually recur on the ſame ſubjects. When the ſeſſion was opened on the ſixteenth day of January, the King declared, that the ſituation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unneceſſary for him to lay before the two Houſes any other reaſons for calling them together, but the ordinary diſpatch of the publick buſineſs, and his deſire of receiving their advice in ſuch affairs as ſhould require the care and conſideration of Parliament. The motion made in the Houſe of Commons for an addreſs of thanks implied, that they ſhould expreſs their ſatisfaction at the preſent ſituation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of thoſe who obſerved, that the nation had very little reaſon to be pleaſed with the preſent poſture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and reſtoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties: that the Britiſh merchants had received no redreſs for the depredations committed by the Spaniards: that the commerce of England daily decreaſed: that no ſort of trade throve but the traffick of 'Change-Alley, where the moſt abominable frauds were practiſed; and that every ſeſſion of Parliament opened a new ſcene of villainy and impoſition.

§ IV. The penſion bill was once more revived, and loſt again in the Houſe of Peers. All the reaſons formerly advanced againſt a ſtanding army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number inſiſted upon with ſuch warmth, that the miniſterial party were obliged to have recourſe to the old phantom of the Pretender. Sir Archer Croft ſaid a continuation of the ſame number of forces was the more neceſſary, becauſe, to his knowledge, Popery was increaſing very faſt in the country; for, in one pariſh which he knew, there were ſeven popiſh prieſts; and that the danger from the Pretender was

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the more to be feared, becauſe they did not know but he was then breeding his ſon a Proteſtant. Sir Robert Walpole obſerved, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wiſhed for and deſired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom: that no reduction had ever been made but what gave freſh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raiſe tumults againſt the government; and he did not doubt but that, if they ſhould reſolve to reduce any part of the army, there would be poſt-horſes employed that very night to carry the good news beyond ſea to the Pretender. His brother Horatio added, that the number of troops then propoſed was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport his Majeſty's government, and would be neceſſary as long as the nation enjoyed the happineſs of having the preſent illuſtrious family on the throne. The futility, the ſelf-contradiction, and the ridiculous abſurdity of theſe ſuggeſtions were properly expoſed: nevertheleſs, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawſon having made a motion for an addreſs to the King, to know what ſatisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the Britiſh merchants, it was after a violent debate approved, and the addreſs preſented. The King in anſwer to this remonſtrance gave them to underſtand, that the meeting of the commiſſaries of the two Crowns had been ſo long delayed by unforeſeen accidents, that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February; and that as the Courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years ſtipulated for finiſhing the commiſſion ſhould be computed from their firſt meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the Houſe of Commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the ſugar colonies in the Weſt-Indies; but, as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have put a ſtop to all commerce between the French iſlands

and the Britiſh ſettlements in North-America, it met with a very warm oppoſition from thoſe who had the proſperity of thoſe northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patroniſed and ſupported by the court intereſt, ſurmounted all objections; and afterwards paſſed into a law. While the Commons deliberated upon the ſupply, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking-fund for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a ſacred depoſit, ſolemnly appropriated to the diſcharge of the national debt. They might have demonſtrated the egregious folly of a meaſure, by which the publick, for a little temporary eaſe, loſt the advantage of the accumulating intereſt which would have ariſen from the ſinking fund if properly managed and reſerved. All objections vaniſhed before the powers of miniſterial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interpoſition actually defeated a ſcheme which had been adopted by the miniſter, and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

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§ V. The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate upon the moſt proper methods for the better ſecurity and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to theſe duties were ſubmitted to the peruſal of the members: the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe were ordered to attend the Houſe, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the oppoſition waited impatiently for a propoſal, in which they thought the liberties of their country ſo deeply intereſted. In a word, there had been a call of the Houſe on the preceding day. The ſeſſion was frequent and full; and both ſides appeared

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appeared ready and eager for the conteſt when Sir Robert Walpole broached his deſign. He took notice of the arts which had been uſed to prejudice the people againſt his plan before it was known. He affirmed that the clamours occaſioned by theſe prejudices had originally riſen from ſmugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themſelves by cheating the publick; and that theſe had been ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted and ſupported by another ſet of men, fond of every opportunity to ſtir up the people of Great Britain to mutiny and ſedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue ariſing from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardſhips to which the American planters were ſubjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill uſage they had met with from their factors and correſpondents in England, who, from being their ſervants, were now become their maſters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and the loſs ſuſtained by the publick with reſpect to the revenue. He aſſerted that the ſcheme he was about to propoſe would remove all theſe inconveniences, prevent numberleſs frauds, perjuries, and falſe entries, and add two or three hundred thouſand pounds per annum to the publick revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practiſed by the knaviſh dealers in thoſe commodities: he recited the ſeveral acts of Parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco: he declared he had no intention to promote a general exciſe: he endeavoured to obviate ſome objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He propoſed to join the laws of Exciſe to thoſe of the Cuſtoms: that the further ſubſidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco ſhould be ſtill levied at the Cuſtom Houſe, and payable to his Majeſty's civil-liſt as heretofore: that then the tobacco ſhould be lodged in warehouſes, to be appointed for that purpoſe by the Commiſ-

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ſioners of the Exciſe: that the keeper of each warehouſe, appointed likewiſe by the Commiſſioners, ſhould have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer have another: and that the tobacco ſhould be thus ſecured until the merchant ſhould find vent for it, either by exportation or home conſumption: that the part deſigned for exportation ſhould be weighed at the Cuſtom Houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its firſt importation, and then exported without farther trouble: that the portion deſtined for home conſumption ſhould, in preſence of the warehouſe-keeper, be delivered to the purchaſer, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound weight, to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eaſed of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding ſureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, ſo far as they formerly belonged to the Crown, ſhould for the future be applied to the uſe of the publick: that appeals in this, as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe, ſhould be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his Majeſty; and in the country, by the judge of aſſize upon the next circuit, who ſhould hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

§ VI. Such was the ſubſtance of the famous exciſe ſcheme, in favour of which Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and ſubſidies on tobacco ſhould from and after the twenty-fourth day of June ceaſe and determine. The debate which enſued was managed and maintained by all the able ſpeakers on both ſides of the queſtion.* Sir Robert Walpole was anſwered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the

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the oppoſition. Sir John Barnard, another repreſentative of London, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſame cauſe. He was ſupported by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The ſcheme was eſpouſed by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and ennobled in the courſe of the enſuing year. Sir Joſeph Jekyl approved of the project, which was likewiſe ſtrenuouſly defended by Lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinſon, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which laſt excelled all his contemporaries of the miniſtry in talents and addreſs. Thoſe who argued againſt the ſcheme accuſed the miniſter of having miſrepreſented the frauds, and made falſe calculations. With reſpect to the ſuppoſed hardſhips under which the planters were ſaid to labour, they affirmed that no planter had ever dreamed of complaining, until inſtigated by letters and applications from London: that this ſcheme, far from relieving the planters, would expoſe the factors to ſuch grievous oppreſſion, that they would not be able to continue the trade, conſequently the planters would be entirely ruined; and, after all, it would not prevent thoſe frauds againſt which it was ſaid to be provided: that from the examination of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, it appeared that thoſe frauds did not exceed forty thouſand pounds per annum, and might in a great meaſure be aboliſhed, by a due execution of the laws in being; conſequently this ſcheme was unneceſſary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, deſtructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as it tended to promote a general exciſe, which was in all countries conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion. They ſuggeſted that it would produce an additional ſwarm of exciſe-officers, and warehouſe-keepers, appointed and paid by the Treaſury, ſo as to multiply the dependents on the Crown, and enable it ſtill further to influence the freedom of elections;

tions: that the traders would become ſlaves to exciſemen and warehouſe-keepers, as they would be debarred all acceſs to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by thoſe officers: that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could ſell, would be obliged to make a journey, or ſend a meſſenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay: and that ſhould a law be enacted in conſequence of this motion, it would in all probability be ſome time or other uſed as a precedent for introducing exciſe laws into every branch of the revenue; in which caſe the liberty of Great Britain would be no more. In the courſe of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beſet all the approaches to the Houſe. He ſaid it would be an eaſy taſk for a deſigning ſeditious perſon to raiſe a tumult and diſorder among them: that gentlemen might give them what name they ſhould think fit, and affirm they were come as humble ſuppliants; but he knew whom the law called ſturdy beggars: and thoſe who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the ſame manner. This inſinuation was reſented by Sir John Barnard, who obſerved that merchants of character had a right to come down to the Court of Requeſts, and lobby of the Houſe of Commons, in order to ſolicit their friends and acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce: that when he came into the Houſe, he ſaw none but ſuch as deſerved the appellation of ſturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himſelf, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm diſpute the motion was carried by a majority of ſixty-one voices. Several reſolutions were founded on the propoſal: and to theſe the Houſe agreed, though not without another violent conteſt. The reſolutions produced a bill, againſt which petitions were preferred

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ferred by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counſel ſhould be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the miniſter encountered no oppoſition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution: but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly againſt the exciſe-bill. The populace ſtill crowded around Weſtminſter-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the Houſe of Commons. They even inſulted the perſons of thoſe members who had voted for the miniſtry on this occaſion; and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He, therefore, thought proper to drop the deſign, by moving that the ſecond reading of the bill might be poſtponed till the twelfth day of June. Then, complaint being made of the inſolence of the populace, who had maltreated ſeveral members, divers reſolutions were taken againſt thoſe tumultuous crowds, and their abettors; theſe reſolves were communicated to the Lord-Mayor of London, the Sheriff of Middleſex, and the high-bailiff of Weſtminſter. Some individuals were apprehended in the Court of Requeſts, as having fomented the diſturbances; but they were ſoon releaſed. The miſcarriage of the bill was celebrated with publick rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter; and the miniſter was burned in effigy by the populace. After the miſcarriage of the exciſe ſcheme, the Houſe unanimouſly reſolved to enquire into the frauds and abuſes in the Cuſtoms; and a committee of twenty-one perſons was choſen by ballot for this purpoſe.

§ VII. The ſubſequent debates of this ſeſſion were occaſioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of ſtock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the Houſe of Lords, who propoſed ſome

ſome amendments, in conſequence of which it was laid aſide; and ſucceeded by another bill eſtabliſhing a lottery, to raiſe five hundred thouſand pounds for the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone ſome alterations it paſſed through both Houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. The King, by a meſſage to Parliament, had ſignified his intention to give the Princeſs Royal in marriage to the Prince of Orange, promiſing himſelf their concurrence and aſſiſtance, that he might be enabled to beſtow ſuch a portion with his eldeſt daughter as ſhould be ſuitable to the occaſion. The Commons immediately reſolved, that out of the monies ariſing from the ſale of lands in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, his Majeſty ſhould be empowered to apply fourſcore thouſand pounds, as a marriage dower for his daughter; and a clauſe for this purpoſe was inſerted in the bill, for enabling his Majeſty to apply five hundred thouſand pounds out of the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the current year.

§ VIII. The oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords was ſtill more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the penſion-bill, the number of land-forces, and a motion made by Lord Bathurſt, for an account of the produce of the forfeited eſtates which had belonged to the directors of the South-Sea Company. The truſtees for theſe eſtates had charged themſelves with a great ſum of money, and the Lords in the oppoſition thought they had a right to know how it had been diſpoſed. The miniſtry had reaſons to ſtifle this enquiry; and, therefore, oppoſed it with all their vigour. Nevertheleſs, the motion was carried, after a warm diſpute, and the directors of the South-Sea Company were ordered to lay the account before the Houſe. From this, it appeared that the large ſums of money ariſing from the forfeited eſtates had been diſtributed among the proprietors, by way of dividend,

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dividend, even before recourſe was had to Parliament for directions in what manner that produce ſhould be applied: Lord Bathurſt, therefore, moved for a reſolution of the Houſe, that the diſpoſal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpoſe, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the diſpoſal thereof, and a manifeſt injuſtice done to the proprietors of that ſtock. The Duke of Newcaſtle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confuſed, and almoſt unintelligible, the preſent directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the Houſe a further and more diſtinct account of the manner in which the money had been diſpoſed. A violent conteſt enſued, in the courſe of which the Houſe divided, and of fifty-ſeven Peers who voted for the delay, forty-ſix were ſuch as enjoyed preferment in the Church, commiſſions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length Lord Bathurſt waved his motion for that time: then the Houſe ordered that the preſent and former directors of the South-Sea Company, together with the late inſpectors of their accounts, ſhould attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated, and gave ſo little ſatisfaction, that Lord Bathurſt moved for a committee of enquiry; but the queſtion being put, was carried in the negative: yet a very ſtrong proteſt was entered by the Lords in the oppoſition. The next ſubject of altercation was the bill for miſapplying part of the produce of the ſinking-fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation by the Earl of Stafford, Lords Bathurſt and Carteret, and particularly by the Earl of Cheſterfield, who had by this time reſigned his ſtaff of Lord-Steward of the Houſehold, and renounced all connection with the miniſtry. Lord Bathurſt moved for a reſolution, importing that, in the opinion of the Houſe, the ſinking-fund ought for

for the future to be applied, in time of peace and publick tranquillity, to the redemption of those taxes which were most prejudicial to the trade, most burthensome on the manufactures, and most oppressive on the poor of the nation. This motion was over-ruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh day of June, the King gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavours that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepresentations. CHAP. V. 1733.

§ IX. Europe was now rein-volved in fresh troubles, by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Augustus died at Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The Elector of Saxony, son to the late King, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themselves candidates for the Polish throne. The Emperor, the Czarina, and the King of Prussia espoused the interests of the Saxon: the King of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law. The foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the Electors; the Marquis de Monti, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully, that he soon gained over the primate, and a majority of the Catholick dietines, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the Imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French King no sooner understood that a body of the Emperor's forces was encamped at Silesia, than he ordered the Duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and take measures for entering Germany, in case the Imperialists should march into Poland. A French fleet set sail for Dantzick, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of

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election approached, the Imperial, Ruſſian, and Pruſſian miniſters delivered in their ſeveral declarations, by way of proteſt againſt the contingent election of Staniſlaus, as a perſon proſcribed, diſqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks, and other infidels. The Ruſſian General Laſci entered Poland at the head of fifty thouſand men: the diet of the election was opened with the uſual ceremony on the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt. Prince Vieſazowiſki, chief of the Saxon intereſt, retired to the other ſide of the Viſtula, with three thouſand men, including ſome of the nobility who adhered to that party. Nevertheleſs, the primate proceeded to the election: Staniſlaus was unanimouſly choſen King; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. The oppoſite party ſoon increaſed to ten thouſand men; proteſted againſt the election, and joined the Ruſſian army, which advanced by ſpeedy marches. King Staniſlaus finding himſelf unable to cope with ſuch adverſaries, retired with the primate and French ambaſſador to Dantzick leaving the Palatine of Kiow at Warſaw. This General attacked the Saxon palace, which was ſurrendered upon terms: then the ſoldiers and inhabitants plundered the houſes belonging to the grandees who had declared for Auguſtus, as well as the hotel of the Ruſſian miniſter. In the mean time, the Poles, who had joined the Muſcovites, finding it impracticable to paſs the Viſtula before the expiration of the time fixed for the ſeſſion of the diet, erected a kelo at Cracow, where the Elector of Saxony was choſen and proclaimed, by the Biſhop of Cracow, King of Poland, under the name of Auguſtus III. on the fixth day of October. They afterwards paſſed the river, and the Palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took poſſeſſion of Warſaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houſes belonging to the oppoſite party.

§ X.

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§ X. During theſe tranſactions, the French King concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which thoſe powers agreed to declare war againſt the Emperor. Manifeſtos were publiſhed reciprocally by all the contracting powers. The Duke of Berwick paſſed the Rhine in October, and undertook the ſiege of fort Kehl, which in a few days was ſurrendered on capitulation: then he repaſſed the river, and returned to Verſailles. The King of Sardinia having declared war againſt the Emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by Mareſchal de Villars, and drove the Imperialiſts out of the Milaneſe. His Imperial Majeſty dreading the effects of ſuch a powerful confederacy againſt him, offered to compromiſe all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the King of Great-Britain; and Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, propoſed an accommodation. Philip expreſſed his acknowledgements to the King of England; declaring, however, that the Emperor's advances were too late; and that his own reſolutions were already taken. Nevertheleſs, he ſent orders to the Count de Montijo, his ambaſſador at London, to communicate to his Britannick Majeſty the motives which had induced him to take theſe reſolutions. In the mean time he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they inveſted the Imperial fortreſs of Aula, the garriſon of which was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The republick of Venice declared ſhe would take no ſhare in the diſputes of Italy: the States-General ſigned a neutrality with the French King for the Auſtrian Netherlands, without conſulting the Emperor or the King of Great-Britain; and the Engliſh councils ſeemed to be altogether pacifick.

§ XI. In November the Prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to eſpouſe the Princeſs Royal: but the marriage was poſtponed on account of his being taken ill; and he repaired to Bath in

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Somerſetſhire, to drink the water for the recovery of his ſtrength. Henrietta, the young Ducheſs of Marlborough, dying about this time, the title devolved to her ſiſter's ſon, the Earl of Sunderland. Lord King reſigning his office of Chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot, Sollicitor-General, together with the title of Baron; a promotion that reflected honour upon thoſe by whom it was adviſed. He poſſeſſed the ſpirit of a Roman ſenator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the Parliament in January, the King told them, in his ſpeech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not ſit regardleſs of the preſent events, or be unconcerned for the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful alliance. He ſaid, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers that were more immediately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his Allies, more particularly with the States-General of the United Provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe. In the mean time, he expreſſed his hope that they would make ſuch proviſion as ſhould ſecure his kingdom, rights, and poſſeſſions from all dangers and inſults, and maintain the reſpect due to the Britiſh nation. He ſaid, that whatever part it might in the end be moſt reaſonable for him to act, it would in all views be neceſſary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdoms in a poſture of defence. The motion for an addreſs of thanks produced, as uſual, a debate in both Houſes, which, it muſt be owned, appears to have proceeded from a ſpirit of cavilling, rather than from any reaſonable cauſe of objection.

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§ XII. The Houſe of Commons reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Ruſhout moved for another, deſiring that the letters and inſtructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville, ſhould be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the Commons; but, after a hard ſtruggle, it was over-ruled. The next motion was made by Mr. Sandy's, a gentleman who had for ſome time appeared ſtrenuous in the oppoſition, and wrangled with great perſeverance. He propoſed that the Houſe ſhould examine the inſtructions which had been given to the Britiſh miniſter in Poland, ſome years before the death of King Auguſtus, that they might be the better able to judge of the cauſes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being oppoſed by all the court members, a conteſt enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Pulteney compared the miniſtry to an empyrick, and the conſtitution of England to his patient. This pretender in phyſick (ſaid he) being conſulted, tells the diſtempered perſon, there were but two or three ways of treating his diſeaſe: and he was afraid that none of them would ſucceed. A vomit might throw him into convulſions that would occaſion immediate death; a purge might bring on a diarrhœa that would carry him off in a ſhort time; and he had been already bled ſo much, and ſo often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient, ſhocked at this declaration, replies, 'Sir, you have always pretended to be a 'regular doctor, but now I find you are an arrant 'quack. I had an excellent conſtitution when I 'firſt fell into your hands, but you have quite de'ſtroyed it; and now I find I have no other chance 'for ſaving my life, but by calling for the help of 'ſome regular phyſician.' In the debate, the members on both ſides ſeemed to wander from the queſtion, and indulge themſelves with ludicrous perſonalities. Mr. H. Walpole took occaſion to

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ſay, that the oppoſition treated the miniſtry as he himſelf was treated by ſome of his acquaintance, with reſpect to his dreſs. "If I am in plain clothes "(ſaid he) then they call me a ſlovenly, dirty fel- "low; and if by chance I wear a laced ſuit, they "cry, What, ſhall ſuch an awkward fellow wear "fine clothes?" He continued to ſport in this kind of idle buffoonery. He compared the preſent adminiſtration to a ſhip at ſea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our deſigned port, the word was "Steady! ſteady!" but when the wind began to ſhift and change, the word was neceſſarily altered to "Thus, thus, and no nearer." The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of ſeveral other propoſals made by the members in the oppoſition. Sir John Barnard preſented a petition from the druggiſts, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the inſults and oppreſſion to which they were ſubjected by the exciſe laws, and imploring relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city members, explained the grievous hardſhips which thoſe traders ſuſtained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the conſideration of the whole Houſe. They were oppoſed by Mr. Winnington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partiſans of the miniſtry; and theſe ſkirmiſhes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of ſatire, argument, reaſon, and truth, was wielded againſt that odious, arbitrary, and oppreſſive method of collecting the publick revenue. Nevertheleſs, the motion in favour of the ſufferers was rejected.

§ XIII. When the Commons deliberated upon the ſupply, Mr. Andrews, Deputy-Paymaſter of the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred men to the number of land forces which had been continued ſince the preceding year. The members in the oppoſition diſputed this ſmall augmentation with too much heat and eagerneſs. It muſt be acknowledged,

knowledged, they were by this time irritated into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether blameable for acting on this maxim, if their sole aim was to remove from the confidence and councils of their Sovereign, a man whose conduct they thought prejudicial to the interest and liberties of their country. They could not, however, prevent the augmentation proposed: but they resolved, if they could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration. It was in consequence of their dismission, that Lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commission-officer, not above the rank of a Colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either House of Parliament. Such an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles; but at this juncture could not fail to miscarry: yet it was sustained with great vigour and address. When the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the King, desiring to know who advised his Majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their respective regiments. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham: but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was carried in the negative. The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of Parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons. It was read a first and second time: but, when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a power-

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ful oppoſition, and produced a warm debate that iſſued in a queſtion, which like the former, paſſed in the negative. A clergyman having inſinuated in converſation that Sir William Milner, Baronet, member for York, received a penſion from the miniſtry, the Houſe took cognizance of this report: the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped ſuch a hint from hearſay. The accuſed member proteſted, upon his honour that he never did, or ever would receive, place, penſion, gratuity, or reward from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in Parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accuſation was voted falſe and ſcandalous, and the accuſer taken into cuſtody: but in a few days he was diſcharged upon his humble petition, and his begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon ſalt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill paſſed againſt ſtock-jobbing.

§ XIV. But the ſubject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both ſides to the moſt vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who propoſed that a bill ſhould be brought in for repealing the ſeptennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments. The arguments for and againſt ſeptennial Parliaments have already been ſtated. The miniſtry now inſiſted upon the increaſe of Papiſts and Jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government: they challenged the oppoſition to produce one inſtance in which the leaſt encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people ſince the ſeptennial act took place: and they defied the moſt ingenious malice to prove that his preſent Majeſty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hinde Cotton affirmed, that in many parts of England the Papiſts had already begun to uſe all their influence in favour of thoſe candidates

didates who were recommended by the miniſters as members in the enſuing Parliament. With reſpect to his Majeſty's conduct, he ſaid he would not anſwer one word: but as to the grievances introduced ſince the law was enacted for ſeptennial Parliaments, he thought himſelf more at liberty to declare his ſentiments. He aſſerted, that the ſeptennial law itſelf was an encroachment on the rights of the people: a law paſſed by a Parliament that made itſelf ſeptennial. He obſerved, that the laws of treaſon with regard to trials were altered ſince that period; that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes alledged againſt him were ſaid to be committed; but by an act of a ſeptennial Parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the miniſtry, could find a jury proper for their purpoſe; where the priſoner could not bring any witneſs in his juſtification, without an expence which perhaps his circumſtances would not bear. He aſked, if the riot act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people? An act by which a little dirty juſtice of the peace, the meaneſt and vileſt tool a miniſter can uſe, who perhaps ſubſiſts by his being in the commiſſion, and may be deprived of that ſubſiſtence at the pleaſure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the beſt ſubjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation. "Was "not the fatal South-Sea ſcheme (ſaid he) eſta- "bliſhed by the act of a ſeptennial Parliament? "And can any man aſk, whether that law was at- "tended with any inconvenience: to the glorious "catalogue I might have added the late exciſe bill, "if it had paſſed into a law; but, thank heaven, "the ſeptennial Parliament was near expiring before "that famous meaſure was introduced."

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§ XV. Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent ſpeech, that ſpoke him the unrivaled orator, the

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the uncorrupted Briton, and the unſhaken patriot, in words to this effect: "Let us ſuppoſe a man "abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of "no great family, and but a mean fortune, raiſed "to be chief miniſter of ſtate, by the concurrence "of many whimſical events; afraid, or unwilling, "to truſt any but creatures of his own making; "loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame and reputation; ignorant "of his country's true intereſt; purſuing no aim "but that of aggrandizing himſelf and his favour- "ites; in foreign affairs truſting none but thoſe "who, from the nature of their education, cannot "poſſibly be qualified for the ſervice of their "country, or give weight and credit to their nego- "ciations. Let us ſuppoſe the true intereſt of the "nation, by ſuch means, neglected or miſunder- "ſtood, her honour tarniſhed, her importance loſt, "her trade inſulted, her merchants plundered, and "her ſailors murdered; and all theſe circumſtances "overlooked, leſt his adminiſtration ſhould be en- "dangered. Suppoſe him next poſſeſſed of im- "menſe wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a "Parliament chiefly compoſed of members whoſe "ſeats are purchaſed, and whoſe votes are bought "at the expence of the publick treaſure. In ſuch "a Parliament, ſuppoſe all attempts made to en- "quire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation "from the diſtreſs which has been entailed upon it "by his adminiſtration. Suppoſe him ſcreened by "a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he re- "tains in daily pay, or engages in his particular "intereſt, by diſtributing among them thoſe poſts "and places which ought never to be beſtowed "upon any but for the good of the publick. Let "him plume himſelf upon his ſcandalous victory, "becauſe he has obtained a Parliament like a packed "jury ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let "us ſuppoſe him domineering with inſolence over "all the men of ancient families, over all the men

"of

" of ſenſe, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he " has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, " and endeavouring to deſtroy or corrupt it in all. " With ſuch a Miniſter, and ſuch a Parliament, let " us ſuppoſe a caſe which I hope will never hap- " pen: a Prince upon the throne, uninformed, ig- " norant, and unacquainted with the inclinations " and true intereſt of his people, weak, capricious, " tranſported with unbounded ambition, and poſ- " ſeſſed with infatiable avarice. I hope ſuch a caſe " will never occur; but, as it poſſibly may, could " any greater curſe happen to a nation, than ſuch a " Prince on the throne, adviſed, and ſolely adviſed, " by ſuch a miniſter, and that miniſter ſupported " by ſuch a Parliament. The nature of mankind " cannot be altered by human laws: the exiſtence " of ſuch a Prince or ſuch a miniſter we cannot " prevent by act of Parliament; but the exiſtence " of ſuch a Parliament I think we may prevent; as " it is much more likely to exiſt, and may do more " miſchief while the ſeptennial law remains in " force, than if it were repealed: therefore, I am " heartily for its being repealed." Notwithſtanding the moſt warm, the moſt nervous, the moſt pathetick remonſtrances in favour of the motion, the queſtion was put, and it was ſuppreſſed by mere dint of number. 1733.

§ XVI. The triumph of the miniſtry was ſtill more complete in the ſucceſs of a meſſage delivered from the Crown in the latter end of the ſeſſion, when a great many members of the other party had retired to their reſpective habitations in the country. Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commiſſion to the Houſe, importing, that his Majeſty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occaſion ſhould require ſuch an augmentation, between the diſſolution of this Parliament and the election of another. Such an important point, that was ſaid to ſtrike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; An. 1734.

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§ XVII. The oppoſition in the Houſe of Peers kept pace with that in the Houſe of Commons, and was ſupported with equal abilities, under the auſpices of the Lords Bathurſt and Carteret, the Earls of Cheſterfield and Abingdon. The Duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the lower Houſe: and it met with the ſame fate after a warm diſpute. Then Lord Carteret moved for an addreſs to the King, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint the Houſe who adviſed his Majeſty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viſcount Cobham from their reſpective regiments; and what crimes were laid to their charge. This propoſal was likewiſe rejected, at the end of a debate in which the Duke of Argyle obſerved, that two Lords had been removed, but only one ſoldier loſt his commiſſion. Such a great majority of the Scottiſh repreſentatives had always voted for the miniſtry ſince the acceſſion of the late King, and ſo many of theſe enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the Crown, that ſeveral attempts were made by the Lords in the oppoſition, to prevent for the future the miniſterial influence from extending itſelf to the elections of North-Britain. Accordingly, two motions for this purpoſe were made by the Earl of Marchmont and the Duke of Bedford; and ſuſtained by the Earls of Cheſterfield, Winchelſea, and Stair, Lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurſt, and Carteret. They were oppoſed by the Dukes of Newcaſtle

caſtle and Argyle, the Earl of Cholmondely, Earl Paulet, Lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the Houſe of Peers, and Lord Talbot. The queſtion being put on both, they were of courſe defeated; and the Earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the moſt ſignal ſervices to the Royal Family, and exhauſted his fortune in ſupporting the intereſt and dignity of the Crown. Strenuous proteſts were entered againſt the deciſion of the majority concerning the King's meſſage, demanding a power to augment his forces during the receſs of Parliament; as alſo againſt a bill for enabling his Majeſty to apply the ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds out of the ſinking fund, for the ſervice of the current year. The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being diſpatched, the King repaired to the Houſe of Lords on the ſixteenth day of April, and having paſſed all the bills that were ready for the Royal aſſent, took leave of this Parliament, with the warmeſt ackowledgement of their zeal, duty, and affection. It was at firſt prorogued, then diſſolved, and another convoked by the ſame proclamation. On the fourteenth day of March, the nuptials of the Prince of Orange and the Princeſs Royal were ſolemnized with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addreſſes of congratulation to his Majeſty from different parts of the kingdom. CHAP. V. 1734.

§ XVIII. The powers at war upon the continent acted with ſurpriſing vigour. The Ruſſian and Saxon army inveſted the city of Dantzick, in hopes of ſecuring the perſon of King Staniſlaus. The town was ſtrong, the garriſon numerous, and animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obſtinate defence. For ſome time they were ſupplied by ſea with recruits, arms, and ammunition. On the eleventh day of May a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was landed from two French ſhips of war and ſome tranſports, under

Fort

BOOK II. 1734. Fort Wechſelmunde, which was ſo much in want of proviſions, that they were not admitted: they therefore re-embarked, and ſailed back to Copenhagen. But afterwards a larger number were landed in the ſame place, and attacked the Ruſſian entrenchments, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulſed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Ruſſian fleet arrived, under the command of Admiral Gordon; and now the ſiege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechſelmunde was ſurrendered: the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Ruſſian ſhips, to be conveyed to ſome port in the Baltick. Staniſlaus eſcaped in the diſguiſe of a peaſant to Marienwarder in the Pruſſian territories. The city of Dantzick ſubmitted to the dominion of Auguſtus III. King of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expence of the war to the Ruſſian General Count de Munich, who had aſſumed the command after the ſiege was begun. The Poliſh Lords at Dantzick ſigned an act of ſubmiſſion to King Auguſtus, who, on the tenth day of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva. There a council was held in his preſence. The recuſant noblemen took the oath which he propoſed. Then a general amneſty was proclaimed; and the King ſet out on his return to Dreſden.

§ XIX. On the Rhine the French arms bore down all reſiſtance. The Count de Belleiſle beſieged and took Traerbach. The Duke of Berwick, at the head of ſixty thouſand men, inveſted Philipſburgh, while Prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defenſive, in the ſtrong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the Empire. On the twelfth day of June, the Duke of Berwick, in viſiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved upon the Marquis d'Aſfeldt, who carried on the operations of the ſiege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene being joined by the different reinforcements he expected, marched

towards the French lines; but found them ſo ſtrong that he would not hazard an attack; and ſuch precautions taken, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the beſieged. At length General Watgenau, the governor, capitulated after having made a noble defence, and obtained the moſt honourable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg; and the campaign ended about the beginning of October. The Imperial arms were not more ſucceſsful in Italy. The Infant Don Carlos had received ſo many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he reſolved to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom. He began his march in February, at the head of the Spaniſh forces; publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring he was ſent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppreſſion under which it groaned; and entered the capital amidſt the acclamations of the people; while the Count de Viſconti, the German viceroy, finding himſelf unable to cope with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown ſuccours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to aſſemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The Count de Montemar marched with a body of forces againſt this General, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the Imperialiſts were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken priſoners. Don Carlos being proclaimed, and acknowledged King of Naples, created the Count de Montemar Duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garriſoned with Imperial troops; and reſolved to ſubdue the iſland of Sicily. About twenty thouſand troops being deſtined for this expedition were landed in the road of Solanto in Auguſt, under the command of the new Duke of Bitonto, who being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conqueſts with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don

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BOOK II. 1734. Don Carlos as their Sovereign, and took arms in ſupport of his government: ſo that the Imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards poſſeſſed the whole kingdom, except Meſſina, Syracuſe, and Trepani, when the Infant determined to viſit the iſland in perſon.

§ XX. While Don Carlos was thus employed in the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily, the Imperialiſts were hard preſſed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the King of Sardinia and the old Mareſchal Duke de Villars. In the month of January they undertook the ſiege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the Emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May, Count Merci, who commanded them, paſſed the Po in the face of the Allies, notwithſtanding all the ſkill of Villars, obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the caſtle of Colorno. The old French General being taken ill, quitted the army, and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the King of Sardinia retiring to the ſame place, the command of the allied forces devolved upon the Mareſchal de Coigny. The confederates were poſted at Sanguina, and the Imperialiſts at Sorbola, when the Count de Merci made a motion to San Proſpero, as if he intended either to attack the enemy, or take poſſeſſion of Parma. The Mareſchal de Coigny forthwith made a diſpoſition for an engagement; and, on the twenty-ninth day of June, the Imperial General having paſſed the Parma, began the attack with great impetuoſity. He charged in perſon at the head of his troops, and was killed ſoon after the battle began. Nevertheleſs, the Prince of Wirtemberg aſſuming the command, both armies fought with great obſtinacy, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the Imperialiſts retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving five thouſand men dead on the field of battle, and among theſe

many officers of distinction. The loss of the Allies was very considerable, and they reaped no solid fruits from their victory.

§ XXI. The Imperial forces retreated to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received some reinforcements: then General Count Konigsegg arriving in the camp, took upon himself the command of the army. His first step was to take post at Quingentolo, by which motion he secured Mirandola, that was threatened with a siege. On the fifteenth of February he forded the river Secchia, and surprized the quarters of Mareschal de Broglio, who escaped in his shirt with great difficulty. The French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above two thousand were taken prisoners. They posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the nineteenth day of the month, they were vigorously attacked by the Imperialists, and a general engagment ensued. Konigsegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impression. The infantry on both sides fought with uncommon ardour for six hours, and the field was covered with carnage. At length, the Imperial general retreated to Lazara, after having lost above five thousand men, including the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Generals Valpareze and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction: nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repassed the Po, and took post on the banks of the Oglio. The Allies crossed the same river, and the Marquis de Maillibois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola; but the Imperialists marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprize: then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succours from Don Carlos. So little respect did the French Court pay to the

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Britiſh nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was publiſhed at Paris, commanding all the Britiſh ſubjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or inliſt in ſome of the Iriſh regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and ſent to the gallies. This edict was executed with the utmoſt rigour. The priſons of Paris were crowded with the ſubjects of Great-Britain, who were ſurprized and cut off from all communication with their friends, and muſt have periſhed by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Janſeniſts. The Earl of Waldegrave, who then reſided at Paris, as ambaſſador from the King of Great-Britain, made ſuch vigorous remonſtrances to the French miniſtry upon this unheard-of outrage againſt a nation with which they had been ſo long in alliance, that they thought proper to ſet the priſoners at liberty, and publiſh another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

§ XXII. While theſe tranſactions occurred on the continent, the King of Great-Britain augmented his land-forces; and warm conteſts were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing repreſentatives for the new Parliament. But in all theſe ſtruggles the miniſterial power predominated; and the new members appeared with the old complexion. The two Houſes aſſembled on the fourteenth day of January, and Mr. Onſlow was re-elected Speaker. The leaders of both parties in all debates were the ſelf-ſame perſons who had conducted thoſe of the former Parliament; and the ſame meaſures were purſued in the ſame manner. The King in his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, gave them to underſtand, that he had concerted with the States-General of the United Provinces ſuch meaſures as were thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace

peace of Europe: that they had conſidered on one ſide the preſſing applications made by the Imperial Court both in England and Holland, for obtaining ſuccours againſt the powers at war with the Houſe of Auſtria; and, on the other ſide, the repeated profeſſions made by the Allies of their ſincere diſpoſition to put an end to the preſent troubles upon honourable and ſolid terms: that he and the States-General had concurred in a reſolution to employ their joint and earneſt inſtances to bring matters to a ſpeedy and happy accommodation; that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a ſhort time a plan would be offered to the conſideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a general negociation of peace. He told them he had uſed the power veſted in him by the laſt Parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the Crown of Denmark of great importance in the preſent conjuncture. He obſerved, that whilſt many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great-Britain muſt be more or leſs affected with the conſequences; and as the beſt concerted meaſures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared againſt all events. He, therefore, expreſſed his hope, that his good ſubjects would not repine at the neceſſary means of procuring the bleſſings of peace and univerſal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be neceſſary and incumbent upon him to take. The addreſs of thanks produced a diſpute as uſual, which ended with an acquieſcence in the motion. The Houſe, in a grand committee on the ſupply, reſolved, That thirty thouſand ſeamen ſhould be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and that the land-forces ſhould be augmented to the number of twenty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-four effective men. But theſe reſolutions were not taken without diſpute and diviſion. The miniſter's opponents not only re-produced

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all the reaſons which had been formerly advanced againſt a ſtanding army, but they oppoſed this augmentation with extraordinary ardour, as a huge ſtride towards the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power. They refuted thoſe fears of external broils on which the miniſtry pretended to ground the neceſſity of ſuch an augmentation; and they expoſed the weak conduct of the adminiſtration, in having contributed to deſtroy the balance of power, by aſſiſting Spain againſt the Emperor in Italy, ſo as to aggrandize the Houſe of Bourbon.

§ XXIII. Sir William Wyndham moved, that the eſtimate of the navy for the enſuing year might be referred to a ſelect committee. He expreſſed his ſurprize, that notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums which had been yearly raiſed, and the long continuance of the peace, the people had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war. He ſaid, he could not comprehend how it was poſſible to find pretences for expoſing the nation to ſuch exorbitant charges; and he took notice of ſome unconſcionable articles in the accounts of the navy-debt that lay upon the table. He was ſeconded by Mr. Sandys, and ſupported by Sir Joſeph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney: but after ſome debate, the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under conſideration in a grand committee, Mr. H. Walpole moved, that the ſum of fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, as a ſubſidy to the Dane, purſuant to the ſaid treaty, for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the oppoſition exclaimed againſt the ſubſidy as unneceſſary and unreaſonable. They obſerved, that as the Engliſh had no particular intereſt of their own for inducing them to engage in the preſent war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be expoſed by that event; and as all the powers of

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Europe were as much, if not more, intereſted than the Engliſh in the preſervation of that balance, ſhould it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable conſideration from Great-Britain; but ſhould the Engliſh be always the firſt to take the alarm upon any rupture, and offer bribes and penſions to all the Princes in Europe, the whole charge of preſerving that balance would fall upon Great-Britain: every State would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwiſe be obliged to do for its own preſervation: even the Dutch might at laſt refuſe to aſſiſt in trimming this balance, unleſs Britain ſhould ſubmit to make the Grand Penſionary of Holland a penſionary of England, and take a number of their forces into Engliſh pay. The debate having had its free courſe, the queſtion was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The miniſtry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the Houſe of Commons: but at the ſecond reading it was rejected upon a diviſion, after a learned debate, in which it appeared that the oppoſition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the perſon of Lord Polwarth, ſon to the Earl of Marchmont a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who ſpoke with all the fluency and fervour of elocution.

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§ XXIV. The minority in the Houſe of Lords were not leſs vigilant and reſolute in detecting and oppoſing every meaſure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. But the moſt remarkable object that employed their attention during this ſeſſion was a very extraordinary petition, ſubſcribed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Queenſberry, and Montroſe, the Earls of Dundonald Marchmont, and Stair, repreſenting that undue influence had been uſed for carrying on the election of the ſixteen Peers for Scotland. The Duke of

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Bedford, who delivered their petition to the Houſe, propoſed a day for taking it into conſideration; and to this they agreed. It was afterwards moved, that the conſideration of it ſhould be adjourned to a ſhort day, before which the petitioners ſhould be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the laſt election of all the ſixteen Peers, or the election of any, and which of them. This affair was of ſuch an unprecedented nature, that the Houſe ſeemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The partiſans of the miniſtry would have willingly ſtifled the enquiry in the beginning; but the petitioners were ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported in their claim to ſome notice, by the Earls of Cheſterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the Lords Bathurſt and Carteret, that they could not diſmiſs it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the Houſe, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the Lord-Chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the ſixteen Peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their Lordſhips the evidence of ſuch facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the conſtitution; and might in future elections equally affect the right of the preſent ſixteen Peers, as that of the other Peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the Houſe, the Duke of Devonſhire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the Houſe in writing, inſtances of thoſe undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the perſons they ſuſpected to be guilty. He was warmly oppoſed by the country party; and a long debate enſued, after which the queſtion was carried in favour of the motion, and the order ſignified to the petitioners. Next day their anſwer was

was read to the Houſe to this effect: That as they had no intention to ſtate themſelves accuſers, they could not take upon them to name particular perſons who might have been concerned in thoſe illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their Lordſhips upon their taking the proper examinations: nevertheleſs, they did humbly acquaint their Lordſhips, that the petition was laid before them upon information, that the liſt of the ſixteen Peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by perſons in high truſt under the Crown: that this liſt was ſhewn to Peers, as a liſt approved by the Crown; and was called the King's liſt, from which there was to be no variation, unleſs to make way for one or two particular Peers, on condition they ſhould conform to meaſures: that Peers were ſolicited to vote for this liſt, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were uſed to engage Peers to vote for this liſt by promiſe of penſions, and offices civil and military to themſelves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that ſums were given for this purpoſe: that penſions, offices, and releaſes of debts owing to the Crown were actually granted to Peers who concurred in voting for this liſt, and to their relations: that on the day of election a battalion of his Majeſty's troops were drawn up in the Abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to cuſtom, and without any apparent cauſe but that of over-awing the electors. This anſwer gave riſe to another violent diſpute; but the majority voted it unſatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the reſolution was clogged with a vigorous proteſt. CHAP. V. 1734.

§ XXV. Notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, the Earl of Abingdon moved, That although the petition was diſmiſſed, an enquiry might be ſet on foot touching an affair of ſuch conſequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The Earl of Ilay declaring his belief, that no ſuch illegal methods had been An. 1735.

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practiſed, the other produced a pamphlet, intituled, The Proteſts of a great Number of noble Lords, entered by them at the laſt Election of Peers for Scotland. Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, Lord Bathurſt exhibited an authentick copy of thoſe proteſts, extracted from the journal of that election, ſigned by the two principal clerks, and witneſſed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. Theſe were accordingly read, and plainly demonſtrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more ſcandalous, arrogant, and ſhamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of thoſe who acted the part of underſtrappers to the miniſtry on this occaſion. But all this demonſtration, adorned and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a deſert. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a proteſt was entered, and the whole affair conſigned to oblivion. Divers other motions were made ſucceſſively by the Lords in the oppoſition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted ſucceſs of the miniſtry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the ſtruggle as often as an opportunity offered. They diſputed the continuation of the ſalt-tax, and the bill for enabling the King to apply the ſum of one million out of the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the current year, though ſucceſs did not attend their endeavours. They ſupported with all their might a bill ſent up from the Commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottiſh Parliament, for preventing wrongous impriſonment, and againſt undue delays in trials. This was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas Corpus act; though it did not ſcreen them from oppreſſion. Yet the Earl of Ilay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England in this reſpect; and the bill was thrown out

out on a diviſion. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the fifteenth of May, when the King in his ſpeech to both Houſes, declared, that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the States-General had not produced the deſired effect. He thanked the Commons for the ſupplies they had granted with ſuch cheerfulneſs and diſpatch. He ſignified his intention to viſit his German dominions; and told them he ſhould conſtitute the Queen Regent of the realm in his abſence. Immediately after the prorogation his Majeſty embarked for Holland, in his way to Hanover.

§ XXVI. By this time the good underſtanding between the courts of Madrid and Liſbon was deſtroyed by a remarkable incident. The Portugueſe ambaſſador at Madrid having allowed his ſervants to reſcue a criminal from the officers of juſtice, all the ſervants concerned in that reſcue were dragged from his houſe to priſon, by the Spaniſh King's order, with circumſtances of rigour and diſgrace. His Portugueſe Majeſty being informed of this outrage, ordered repriſals to be made upon the ſervants of the Spaniſh ambaſſador in Liſbon. The two miniſters withdrew abruptly to their reſpective courts. The two Monarchs expreſſed their mutual reſentment. The King of Spain aſſembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal; and his Portugueſe Majeſty had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of King George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Alzeveda was diſpatched to London, with the character of Envoy Extraordinary; and ſucceeded in his commiſſion according to his wiſh. In a little time after the King's departure from England, Sir John Norris ſailed from Spithead with a powerful ſquadron, in order to protect the Portugueſe againſt the Spaniards; and on the ninth day of June arrived at Liſbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr. Keene, the Britiſh envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his Catholick Majeſty the reſolution

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reſolution of his maſter to ſend a powerful ſquadron to Liſbon, with orders to guard that coaſt from inſults, and ſecure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great-Britain were deeply intereſted. Don Joſeph Patinho, miniſter of his Catholick Majeſty, delivered a memorial to Mr. Keene, repreſenting, that ſuch an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandize in the flota. But, in all probability, it prevented a rupture beetween the two crowns, and diſpoſed the King of Spain to liſten to terms of accommodation.

§ XXVII. The powers in alliance againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, having rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the King of Great-Britain and the States-General, Mr. Walpole, ambaſſador at the Hague, preſented a memorial to their High Mightineſſes, deſiring they would, without loſs of time, put themſelves in a poſture of defence by an augmentation of their forces at ſea and land: that they might take ſuch vigorous ſteps in concert with Great-Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But before they would ſubject themſelves to ſuch expence, they reſolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance againſt the Emperor; and conferences were renewed with the miniſters of thoſe Allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the intereſt of Staniſlaus; for though a great number of the Poliſh nobility engaged in a confederacy to ſupport his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the Palatine of Kiow ſubmitted to Auguſtus; and even his brother the primate, after having ſuſtained a long impriſonment, and many extraordinary harſhips, was obliged to acknowledge that Prince his Sovereign. In Italy the arms of the Allies ſtill continued to proſper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole iſland, almoſt without oppoſition; while the Imperialiſts were forced

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to abandon all the territories they poſſeſſed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The Emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored ſuccours of the Czarina, who ſent thirty thouſand men to his aſſiſtance. This vigorous interpoſition, and the ſucceſs of Auguſtus in Poland, diſpoſed the court of Verſailles to a pacification. A ſecret negociation was begun between France and the Houſe of Auſtria; and the preliminaries were ſigned without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In theſe articles it was ſtipulated, that France ſhould reſtore all the conqueſts ſhe had made in Germany: That the reverſion of the dukedom of Tuſcany ſhould be veſted in the Duke of Lorraine: That Lorraine ſhould be allotted to King Staniſlaus; and after his death be united to the crown of France: That the Emperor ſhould poſſeſs the Milaneſe, the Mantuan, and Parma: That the King of Sardinia ſhould enjoy Vigevano and Novara: That Don Carlos ſhould be acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, and retain the iſland of Elba, with all the Spaniſh territories on the coaſt of Tuſcany; and that France ſhould guarantee the pragmatick ſanction.

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§ XXVIII. The King of Great-Britain returned from Hanover to England in the month of November; and on the fifteenth day of January opened the ſeſſion of Parliament. On this occaſion he congratulated them on the near proſpect of a general peace in Europe, in conſequence of the preliminary articles in which the Emperor and the King of France had agreed; and of which he had expreſſed his approbation, as they did not differ in any eſſential point from the plan of pacification which he and the States-General had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them, that he had already ordered a conſiderable reduction to be made in his forces both by ſea and land; but at the ſame time obſerved it would be neceſſary to continue ſome extraordinary expence, until

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§ XXIX. The bill for limiting the number of officers in the Houſe of Commons was again revived. The King was empowered to borrow ſix hundred thouſand pounds, chargeable on the ſinking fund, for the ſervice of the enſuing year, though this power was not eaſily granted; and the Houſe reſolved to lay a duty of twenty ſhillings per gallon on all ſpirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee appointed for that purpoſe, that thoſe ſpirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this reſolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that fifty pounds ſhould be yearly paid to his Majeſty for a licence to be annually taken out by every perſon who ſhould vend, barter, or utter any ſuch ſpirituous

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ſpirituous liquors. Mr. Walter Plumer, in a well-concerted ſpeech, moved for the repeal of ſome clauſes in the Teſt act: theſe he repreſented as a ſpecies of perſecution, in which Proteſtant Diſſenters were confounded with the Roman Catholics and enemies to the eſtabliſhment. He was ſuſtained by Lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote; but Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen againſt the motion as dangerous to the eſtabliſhed Church: and the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative. When Sir Joſeph Jekyl preſented to the Houſe, according to order, a bill founded on the reſolutions they had taken againſt ſpirituous liquors, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his Majeſty's command, that as the alterations propoſed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all ſpirituous liquors might, in a great degree, affect ſome part of the civil-liſt revenues, his Majeſty, for the ſake of remedying ſo great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented did conſent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be ſettled and appropriated in lieu of his intereſt in the ſaid duties. The bill was read a ſecond time, and conſigned to a committee of the whole Houſe; but that for limiting the number of officers in the Houſe of Commons, was thrown out at the ſecond reading. Petitions againſt the bill touching the retail of ſpirituous liquors, were preſented by the traders to the Britiſh ſugar colonies, by the merchants of Briſtol and Liverpool, repreſenting the hardſhips to which they would be expoſed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and ſpirits diſtilled from melaſſes. In conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, a mitigating clauſe was inſerted, in favour of the compoſition known by the name of punch, and diſtillers were permitted to exerciſe any other employment. The ſum of ſeventy thouſand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil liſt by this bill, which

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BOOK II. 1736. at length paſſed through the Houſe, though not without reiterated diſputes and warm altercation. Violent oppoſition was likewiſe made to a bill for the relief of the people called Quakers, who offered a petition, repreſenting, that though from motives of conſcience they refuſed the payment of tithes, church-rates, oblations, and eccleſiaſtical dues, they were expoſed to grievous ſufferings by proſecution in the Exchequer, eccleſiaſtical, and other Courts, to the impriſonment of their perſons, and the ruin of them and their families. A bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed: then petitions were preferred againſt it by the clergy of Middleſex, and of many other parts of the kingdom. Counſel was heard in behalf of theſe petitioners, and ſeveral alterations propoſed in the bill, which after long and repeated debates ſurmounted all oppoſition, and was ſent up to the Lords.

§ XXX. In the month of February the King had ſent two members of the privy-council to the Prince of Wales, with a meſſage, propoſing a marriage between his Royal Highneſs and the Princeſs of Saxegotha. The propoſal being agreeable to the Prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-ſeventh day of April. Upon this occaſion Mr. Pulteney moved for an addreſs of congratulation to his Majeſty, and was ſupported by Mr. George Lyttelton and Mr. William Pitt, who ſeized this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyricks on the Prince of Wales and his amiable conſort. Theſe two young members ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Houſe by their eloquence and ſuperior talents. The attention of the Houſe was afterwards converted to a bill for the preventing of ſmuggling; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to ſerve in Parliament. Both made their way through the Lower Houſe, and were ſent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The number of

land forces voted for the ſervice of the current year was reduced to ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and four effective men. The ſupplies were raiſed by the malt-tax and land-tax, at two ſhillings in the pound, additional duties on mum, cider, and perry, ſtamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and by an act empowering his Majeſty to borrow ſix hundred thouſand pounds of the ſinking fund. In this ſeſſion the Parliament repealed the old ſtatutes of England and Scotland againſt conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil ſpirits. The Commons likewiſe prepared a bill to reſtrain the diſpoſition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Againſt this meaſure petitions were preſented by the two univerſities, the colleges of Eton, Wincheſter, and Weſtminſter, and divers hoſpitals that ſubſiſted by charitable donations. In favour of the univerſities and colleges a particular exempting clauſe was inſerted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which paſſed through both Houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. Among the acts paſſed in this ſeſſion, was one for naturalizing her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales; and another for building a bridge acroſs the Thames from New Palace-yard, in the city of Weſtminſter, to the oppoſite ſhore in the county of Surrey. The points chiefly debated in the Houſe of Lords were the addreſs of thanks for his Majeſty's ſpeech, the Mortmain bill, the Quakers bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of ſmuggling, which did not paſs without diviſion and proteſt. On the twentieth day of May the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he told both Houſes, that a further convention touching the execution of the preliminaries, had been made and communicated to him by the Emperor and Moſt Chriſtian King: and that negociations were carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle a general pacification. He expreſſed great concern

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§ XXXI. Such a degree of licentiouſneſs prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in a due execution of the laws. The moſt remarkable of theſe diſturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the ſeventh day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal diſpoſition and abandoned morals, had at the execution of a ſmuggler been provoked by ſome inſults from the populace to order his men, without uſing the previous formalities of the law, to fire with ſhot among the crowd; by which precipitate order ſeveral innocent perſons loſt their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received ſentence of death; but the Queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh reſented this lenity ſhewn to a criminal, who was the object of their deteſtation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They ſeemed to think thoſe were encouragements to oppreſſion: they were fired by a national jealouſy: they were ſtimulated by the relations and friends of thoſe who had been murdered; and they reſolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving

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priving him of life on the very day which the Judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they aſſembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admiſſion of the troops that were quartered in the ſuburbs. They ſurprized and diſarmed the town-guards: they broke open the priſon-doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their ſeveral habitations. This exploit was performed with ſuch conduct and deliberation as ſeemed to be the reſult of a plan formed by ſome perſons of conſequence; it, therefore, became the object of a very ſevere enquiry.

§ XXXII. During this ſummer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Ruſſians, which laſt reduced the city of Aſoph on the Black Sea, and over-ran the greateſt part of Crim Tartary. The Czarina declared war againſt the Ottoman Porte, becauſe the Tartars of the Crimea had made incurſions upon her frontiers; and when ſhe complained of theſe diſorders to the Vizir, ſhe received no ſatisfaction; beſides a large body of Tartars had, by order of that miniſter, marched through the Ruſſian provinces in deſpite of the Empreſs, and committed terrible havock in their route. The Emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offenſive and defenſive, which he had many years before concluded with the Czarina. Yet, before he declared himſelf, he joined the Maritime Powers in offering his mediation to the Sultan, who was very well diſpoſed to peace; but the Czarina inſiſted upon her retaining Aſoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as diſhonourable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent Powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded be-

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tween the Emperor and France. The Duke of Lorraine had eſpouſed the Emperor's eldeſt daughter, the Archducheſs Maria Thereſa, and ceded Lorraine to France, even before he ſucceeded to Tuſcany. Don Carlos was crowned King of Sicily: Staniſlaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Auguſtus was univerſally acknowledged Sovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and accepted by the Diet of the Empire: the King of Spain ſent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuſcany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the Houſe of Auſtria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the intereſt of the Emperor on this occaſion, did not live to ſee the happy fruits of his negociation. He died at Vienna, in April, at the age of ſeventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and conſummate politician. He was not long ſurvived by Count Staremberg, another Imperial General who ranked next to the Prince in military reputation. About the ſame time Great-Britain ſuſtained a national loſs in the death of Lord Chancellor Talbot, who, by his worth, probity, and acquired accompliſhments, had dignified the great office to which he had been raiſed. He died univerſally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two; and was ſucceeded on the Bench by Lord Hardwicke.

§ XXXIII. The King being indiſpoſed, in conſequence of having been fatigued by a very tempeſtuous paſſage from Holland, the Parliament was prorogued from the twenty-firſt day of January to the firſt of February, and then the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion. The Lord Chancellor, as one of the Peers authoriſed by this commiſſion, made a ſpeech in his Majeſty's name to both Houſes. With reſpect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the reſpective acts of ceſſion being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and poſſeſſion of the ſeveral countries and places by the Powers concerned, according

cording to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced: that, however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement. He said, his Majesty could not without surprize and concern observe the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. He observed, that the consideration of the height to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the Commons had agreed to an address, and heard counsel on some controverted elections, they proceeded to take the supply into consideration. They voted ten thousand men for the sea-service. They continued for the land-service the same number they had maintained in times of tranquillity, amounting to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four; but this measure was not adopted without opposition; the money was raised by the land and malt-taxes, reinforced with one million granted out of the sinking fund.

§ XXXIV. The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a year upon the Prince of Wales. He represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of ancient time: that what he proposed had been enjoyed by his present Majesty in the life-time of his father; and that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary to ascertain the independency of the apparent Heir

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to the Crown. The motion was vigorouſly oppoſed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the King's family affairs; and as an effort to ſet his Majeſty and the Prince at variance. But a miſunderſtanding, it ſeems, had already happened in the Royal Family. The Miniſter in the midſt of his harangue told the Houſe, by his Majeſty's command, that on the preceding day the King had ſent a meſſage to the Prince by ſeveral noblemen of the firſt quality, importing, that his Majeſty had given order for ſettling a jointure upon the Princeſs of Wales, ſuitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before Parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that although his Royal Highneſs had not thought fit, by any application to his Majeſty, to deſire that his allowance of fifty thouſand pounds might be rendered leſs precarious, the King, to prevent the bad conſequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful meaſures which his Majeſty was informed the Prince had been adviſed to purſue, would grant to his Royal Highneſs, for his Majeſty's life, the ſaid fifty thouſand pounds per annum, to be iſſued out of the civil-liſt revenues, over and above the Prince's revenues ariſing from the dutchy of Cornwall, which his Majeſty thought a very competent allowance, conſidering his own numerous iſſue, and the great expence which did and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable proviſion for the whole Royal Family: that the Prince, by a verbal anſwer, deſired their Lordſhips to lay him with all humility at his Majeſty's feet: to aſſure him that he did, and ever ſhould, retain the utmoſt duty for his Royal Perſon: that he was very thankful for any inſtance of his Majeſty's goodneſs to him or to the Princeſs, and particularly for his Majeſty's gracious intention of ſettling a jointure upon her Royal Highneſs; but, that as to the meſſage, the affair was now out of his hands,

hands, and, therefore, he could give no anſwer to it; that his Royal Highneſs afterwards uſed many dutiful expreſſions towards his Majeſty; adding, "Indeed, my Lords, it is in other hands, and I am "ſorry for it;" or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the annual ſum of fifty thouſand pounds was as much as the King could afford to allow for the Prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad conſequences that might enſue, if the Son ſhould be rendered altogether independent of the Father,

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§ XXXV. Theſe ſuggeſtions did not paſs unanſwered. Sir Robert Walpole had aſſerted, that the Parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a Prince of Wales; and that in the caſe of Richard II. who, upon the death of his father, the Black Prince, was created Prince of Wales, in conſequence of an addreſs or petition from Parliament, that meaſure was in all probability directed by the King himſelf. In anſwer to this aſſertion it was obſerved, that probably the King would not have been ſo forward in creating his grandſon Prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this ſtep by his Parliament; for Edward in his old age fell into a ſort of love dotage, and gave himſelf entirely up to the management of his miſtreſs, Alice Pierce, and his ſecond ſon, the Duke of Lancaſter; a circumſtance that raiſed a moſt reaſonable jealouſy in the Black Prince, at that time on his death-bed, who could not but be anxious about the ſafety and right of his only ſon, whom he found he was ſoon to leave a child in the hands of a doating grandfather, and an ambitious, aſpiring uncle. The ſupporters of the motion obſerved, that the allowance of fifty thouſand pounds was not ſufficient to defray the Prince's yearly expence, without allotting one ſhilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the ſeveral deductions for land taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thouſand pounds. They

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affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the dutchy of Cornwall, did not exceed fifty-two thouſand pounds a year, though, by his Majeſty's own regulation, the expence of the Prince's houſehold amounted to ſixty-three thouſand. They proved, that the produce of the civil-liſt exceeded nine hundred thouſand pounds, a ſum above one hundred thouſand pounds a year more than was enjoyed by his late Majeſty; and that, in the firſt year of the late King, the whole expence of his houſehold and civil government did not much exceed four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year. They obſerved, that the Parliament added one hundred and forty thouſand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of ſecret-ſervice money; and allowed one hundred thouſand pounds for the maintenance of the Prince of Wales: that the article of ſecret-ſervice money had prodigiouſly increaſed in the late reign: by an account which happened to be laid before the Parliament, it appeared that vaſt ſums of money had been given for purpoſes which nobody underſtood, and to perſons whom nobody knew. In the beginning of the following ſeſſion ſeveral members propoſed that this extraordinary account ſhould be taken into conſideration; but the enquiry was warded off by the other party, who declared that the Parliament could not examine any account which had been preſented to a former ſeſſion. The debate was fierce and long; and ended in a diviſion, by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the ſame nature was made by Lord Carteret in the Houſe of Peers, and gave riſe to a very keen diſpute, maintained by the ſame arguments, and iſſuing in the ſame termination.

§ XXXVI. The next remarkable conteſt was occaſioned by a motion of Sir R. Walpole, who propoſed the ſum of one million ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards redeeming the like ſum of the increaſed capital of the South-Sea Company,

commonly called South-Sea Annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this ſum to the payment of the debt due to the Bank, as part of that incumbrance was ſaddled with an intereſt of ſix per cent. whereas the intereſt paid for the other ſums that conſtituted the publick debt did not exceed four per cent. Many plauſible arguments were offered on both ſides of the queſtion; and at length the motion was carried in the affirmative. The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe money either by the ſale of annuities, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-Sea annuities; and that ſuch of the ſaid annuitants as ſhould be inclined to ſubſcribe their reſpective annuities, ſhould be preferred to all others. He ſaid, that even thoſe publick ſecurities which bore an intereſt of three per cent. only were ſold at a premium in Change-Alley: he was, therefore, perſuaded, that all thoſe who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. ſecurity would gladly lend their money to the government at the ſame intereſt, ſhould books of ſubſcription be opened for that purpoſe, with an aſſurance that no part of the principal ſhould be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of intereſt. From eaſy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the intereſt upon all the South-Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of publick faith: that then the produce of the ſinking fund would amount to fourteen hundred thouſand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the ſeveral trading companies: he proved that this meaſure would bring every one of them ſo much within the power of Parliament, that

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they would be glad to accept of three per cent. intereſt on any reaſonable terms; in which caſe the ſinking fund would riſe to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds per annum. Then the Parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, ſoap, leather, and other ſuch impoſitions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers: the remaining part of the ſinking fund might be applied towards the diſcharge of thoſe annuities and publick debts which bore an intereſt of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminiſhing the capitals of the ſeveral trading companies till the term of fourteen years ſhould be expired; then the ſinking fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be ſufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances. This ſalutary ſcheme was violently oppoſed by Alderman Heathcote, and other partiſans of the miniſtry: yet all their objections were refuted; and, in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourſe to artifice. Mr. Winnington moved, that all the publick creditors, as well as the South-Sea annuitants, ſhould be comprehended. Sir John Barnard demonſtrated, that it might be eaſy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. ſufficient for paying off ſuch of the proprietors of four-and-twenty millions as were not willing to accept of that intereſt, but it would be extremely difficult to borrow enough to ſatisfy the proprietors of four-and-forty millions, who might chooſe to have their principal rather than ſuch an intereſt. Nevertheleſs reſolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original ſcheme; and a bill was immediately prepared. It produced many other debates, and was at laſt poſtponed by dint of miniſterial influence. The ſame venerable patriot, who projected this ſcheme, moved that as ſoon as the intereſt of all the national redeemable debt ſhould be reduced

to

to three per cent. the Houſe would take off ſome of the heavy taxes which oppreſſed the poor and the manufacturers: but this motion was rejected by the majority. CHAP. V. 1736.

§ XXXVII. The laſt diputes of this ſeſſion were excited by a bill ſent down from the Lords for puniſhing the magiſtrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In the beginning of the ſeſſion Lord Carteret recapitulated the ſeveral tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom. He particularly inſiſted upon the atrocious murder of Captain Porteous, as a flagrant inſult upon the government, and a violation of the publick peace, ſo much the more dangerous, as it ſeemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency. He ſuſpected that ſome citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circumſtance, but likewiſe becauſe, notwithſtanding the reward of two hundred pounds, which had been offered by proclamation for the diſcovery of any perſon who acted in that tragedy, not one individual had as yet been detected. He ſeemed to think that the magiſtrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; and he propoſed a minute enquiry into the particulars of the affair. He was ſeconded by the Duke of Newcaſtle and the Earl of Ilay: though this laſt nobleman differed in opinion from him with reſpect to the charter of the city, which, he ſaid, could not be juſtly forfeited by the fault of the magiſtracy. The Lords reſolved, That the magiſtrates and other perſons from whom they might obtain the neceſſary information concerning this riot ſhould be ordered to attend; and, That an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty deſiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of Captain Porteous might be ſubmitted to the peruſal of the Houſe. Theſe documents being accordingly examined, and all the witneſſes An. 1737.

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witneſſes arrived, including three Scottiſh judges, a debate aroſe about the manner in which theſe laſt ſhould be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table or on the woolſacks. Some Scottiſh Lords aſſerted, that they had a right to be ſeated next to the judges of England: but after a long debate this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. A bill was brought in to diſable Alexander Wilſon, Eſquire, Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elſe where in Great-Britain; for impriſoning the ſaid Alexander Wilſon; for aboliſhing the guard of that city; and for taking away the gates of the Nether-Bow-Port, ſo as to open a communication between the city and the ſuburbs, in which the King's troops are quartered. The Duke of Argyle, in arguing againſt this bill, ſaid he could not think of a proceeding more harſh or unprecedented than the preſent, as he believed there was no inſtance of the whole weight of Parliamentry indignation, for ſuch he called a proceeding by a bill *ex poſt facto*, falling upon any ſingle perſon, far leſs upon any community for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of juſtice: for this reaſon he obſerved, that if the Lord Provoſt and citizens of Edinburgh ſhould ſuffer in the terms of the preſent bill, they would ſuffer by a cruel, unjuſt, and fantaſtical proceeding; a proceeding of which the worſt uſe might be made, if ever the nation ſhould have the misfortune to fall under a partial, ſelf-intereſted adminiſtration. He told them he ſat in the Parliament of Scotland when that part of the treaty of Union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs was ſettled on the ſame footing as religion, that is they were made unalterable by any ſubſequent Parliament of Great-Britain. Notwithſtanding the eloquence and warmth of his remonſtrance, the bill was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons,

Commons, where it produced a violent conteſt. The Commons ſet on foot a ſevere ſcrutiny into the particular circumſtances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witneſſes it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly compoſed of country people, excited by the relations of ſome unhappy perſons whom Porteous and his men had ſlain at the execution of the ſmuggler; and theſe were aſſiſted by prentice boys, and the loweſt claſs of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh: that the Lord Provoſt had taken all the precautions to prevent miſchief that his reflexion ſuggeſted: that he even expoſed his perſon to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavour to diſperſe them; and that if he had done amiſs, he erred from want of judgment, rather than from want of inclination to protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewiſe appeared, that Mr. Lindſay member for the city of Edinburgh, had gone in perſon to General Moyle, commander of the forces in North-Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his immediate aſſiſtance, and promiſed to conduct his troops into the city; and that his ſuit was rejected, becauſe he could not produce a written order from the magiſtracy, which he neither could have obtained in ſuch confuſion, nor ventured to carry about his perſon through the midſt of an enraged populace. The Scottiſh members exerted themſelves with uncommon vivacity in defence of their capital. They were joined by Sir John Barnard, Lord Cornbury, Mr. Shippen and Mr. Oglethope. Lord Polwarth declared, that if any gentleman would ſhow where one argument in the charge againſt the Lord Provoſt and the city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that inſtant give his vote for the commitment of the bill. He ſaid, if gentlemen would lay their hands upon their hearts, and aſk themſelves, whether they would have voted in this manner had the caſe of Edinburgh been

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been that of the city of Briſtol, York, or Norwich, he was perſuaded they would have required that every tittle of the charge againſt them ſhould have been fully and undeniably proved. Some amendments and mitigations being inſerted in the bill, it paſſed the Houſe, was ſent back to the Lords, who agreed to the alterations, and then received the royal aſſent.

§ XXXVIII. The next effort of the miniſter was obliquely levelled at the liberty of the preſs, which it was much for his intereſt to abridge. The errors of his conduct, the myſtery of that corruption which he had ſo ſucceſsfully reduced to a ſyſtem, and all the blemiſhes of his adminiſtration, had been expoſed and ridiculed, not only in political periodical writings produced by the moſt eminent hands, but likewiſe in a ſucceſſion of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon ſucceſs among the people. He either wanted judgement to diſtinguiſh men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his ſervice: he, therefore, employed a ſet of wretched authors, void of underſtanding and ingenuity. They undertook the defence of his miniſtry, and anſwered the animadverſions of his antagoniſts. The match was ſo extremely unequal, that, inſtead of juſtifying his conduct, they expoſed it to additional ridicule and contempt; and he ſaw himſelf in danger of being deſpiſed by the whole nation. He reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity to choak thoſe canals through which the torrent of cenſure had flowed upon his character. The manager of a playhouſe communicated to him a manuſcript farce, intituled, The Golden Rump, which was fraught with treaſon and abuſe upon the government, and had been preſented to the ſtage for exhibition. This performance was produced in the Houſe of Commons. The miniſter deſcanted upon the inſolence, the malice, the immorality, and the ſeditious calumny, which had been of late propagated in theatrical

trical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouſes; to ſubject all dramatick writers to the inſpection of the Lord-Chamberlain; and to compel them to take out a licence for every production before it could appear on the ſtage. Notwithſtanding a vigorous oppoſition, this bill paſſed through both Houſes with extraordinary diſpatch, and obtained the royal ſanction. In this debate the Earl of Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an excellent ſpeech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all thoſe who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. "Our ſtage (ſaid he) ought cer- "tainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for "this purpoſe, our laws as they ſtand at preſent "are ſufficient. If our ſtage players at any time "exceed thoſe bounds, they ought to be proſecuted; "they may be puniſhed. We have precedents, we "have examples of perſons puniſhed for things leſs "criminal than ſome pieces which have been lately "repreſented: a new law muſt, therefore, be un- "neceſſary; and in the preſent caſe it cannot be "unneceſſary without being dangerous. Every "unneceſſary reſtraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a "ſhackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the "greateſt bleſſings we enjoy, one of the greateſt "bleſſings a people can enjoy, is liberty. But "every good in this life has its allay of evil. Li- "centiouſneſs is the allay of liberty. It is an ebul- "lition, an excreſcence; it is a ſpeck upon the eye "of the political body, which I can never touch "but with a gentle, with a trembling hand; leſt I "deſtroy the body, leſt I injure the eye upon "which it is apt to appear. If the ſtage becomes "at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a "libel upon the government, or upon any particu- "lar man, the King's courts are open; the law is "ſufficient to puniſh the offender. If poets and "players are to be reſtrained, let them be reſtrained

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"as

BOOK II. 1737. " as other ſubjects are, by the known laws of their " country; if they offend, let them be tried as every " Engliſhman ought to be, by God and their " country. Do not let us ſubject them to the ar- " bitrary will and pleaſure of any one man. A power " lodged in the hands of a ſingle man to judge and " determine without limitation, controul, or appeal, " is a ſort of power unknown to our laws, inconſiſtent " with our conſtitution. It is a higher, a more abſo- " lute power than we truſt even to the King himſelf; " and, therefore, I muſt think we ought not to veſt " any ſuch power in his Majeſty's Lord-Chamber- " lain." His arguments had no effect, though the Houſe admired his elocution; and the play-houſe bill paſſed into a law. On the twenty-firſt day of June the King made a ſhort ſpeech to both Houſes, and the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament.

END OF VOL. II.

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